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THE

WORKS

OF

FRANCIS BACON.

VOL. VIII.

THE

WORKS

OF

FRANCIS BACON

BARON OF VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN,

AND

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY

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VOL. VIII.

THE LETTERS AND THE LIFE, VOL. I.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS.

1862.

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PRINTED BY
JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR, LITTLE QUEEN STREET,
LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

THE LETTERS AND THE LIFE

OF

FRANCIS BACON

INCLUDING ALL HIS

OCCASIONAL WORKS

NAMELY

LETTERS SPEECHES TRACTS STATE PAPERS MEMORIALS DEVICES
AND ALL AUTHENTIC WRITINGS NOT ALREADY PRINTED AMONG HIS
PHILOSOPHICAL LITERARY OR PROFESSIONAL WORKS

NEWLY COLLECTED AND SET FORTH

IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

WITH A

COMMENTARY BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

BY

JAMES SPEDDING

VOL. I.

LONDON
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS
1861

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1857
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PREFACE.

BACON'S Philosophical Works having been disposed of in the five volumes first issued, and his Literary and Professional Works in the two which followed, I come now to what I have called his Occasional Works; which include all the rest, and will when finished make the Edition complete according to the plan originally proposed.

In editing these, I have made it my first object to give as complete a collection and as correct a text as I could of all his Letters, Speeches, Tracts, Memorials, and whatever else of his composition was addressed to the immediate business of his time, and meant to produce its effect then and there.

But since writings of this kind cannot be properly understood except with reference to the circumstances in which they were written, which are for the most part worn out of memory and not to be recovered without much pains and patience, I have made it my second object to inquire into those circumstances, and to accompany the original papers with so much explanatory matter of my own as may enable any man who cares for the subject to read the work continuously and understand it all as he goes on; at least so much of it as I understand myself.

I make no apology to the reader for the length to which this part of my task has carried me; for in determining what to say and what to leave unsaid I have especially studied his convenience; and if he have patience to accompany me, I hope he will find that neither his labour nor my own has been thrown away. A collection of letters and writings of business, if it be large enough and the subjects various enough and the selection made neither by friend nor enemy but by impartial chance, will always

afford evidence of the very best kind as to the life and character of the writer. If his business lay among public men and matters, it will afford likewise evidence of a very valuable kind as to the events of the time. If he was at the same time a man of understanding and discernment, it will afford what is more valuable still, the best light by which to understand the meaning of those events. Study it diligently, and it will give you not only the life of the man but the history of the period. Now if there was ever any man whose writings upon the various occasions of his time may be expected to yield instruction in all these ways, it is Francis Bacon. Not often I suppose in the history of the world have such an eye to observe, such opportunities of observing, and matters so worthy of observation, met together. Seldom certainly in this kingdom has there been a time so full of commotion and social alteration, so working with the arrears of changes past and the first motions of changes to come, as that in which he lived; seldom has there been a man who could discern the signs of the time so well. Only a year before his birth, the established religion of the land had been suddenly changed by authority from Catholic to Protestant; from which moment England had to stand upon her guard, not only against the internal troubles, the agitations of hope, fear, and despair, which could not but follow upon the shock of so many consciences and the alteration of so many fortunes, but against the combined assaults from without of the greatest temporal and greatest spiritual powers of the earth,—as being thenceforward the stronghold and refuge of the Protestant cause in Europe, worth conquering at any sacrifice. Only a few years *after* his birth, the Church thus newly established had to arm herself against a new and unexpected antagonist nursed within her own bosom, by which, through successive stages of controversy, vexation, disturbance, violence, and bloodshed, a second ecclesiastical revolution was effected within less than a century after the first, and the whole authority of the Church passed for awhile into other hands. Had Bacon lived twenty years longer, he would have seen the overthrow of the establishment, of which, had he been born two or three years earlier, he would have seen the com-

mencement. During the same period a contest was going on in the political relations of the state, if not so lofty in its argument, yet more momentous because more durable in its results; for the struggle between the Commons and the Crown, which of them should keep the key of the subject's wealth and thereby the ultimate control of all affairs, was begun, fought out, and in effect decided, within the circle of Bacon's life. Nor can any other period be assigned as the commencement of that great movement of modern science, the world-wide effects of which are astonishing us every day. To what and to whom we owe the original impulse, is a point upon which opinions will differ; but the time which brought it forth was unquestionably the time in which Gilbert, Bacon, Galileo, Kepler, and Harvey (for that is the order of succession) all flourished. In the middle of these agitations Bacon passed a long and active life, watching and working. Of his writings upon the various occasions of the time a large portion has been preserved, and if it can be placed in such a light as to present a true view of what he thought about them,—if it can be arranged into a collection over which we may write FRANCISCUS BACONUS SIC COGITAVIT,—I suppose a more valuable contribution to the history of the period could scarcely be offered.

I have thought it expedient to include in the collection every writing of this class which I believe to be authentic, whatever the subject, character, or intrinsic value; and also to arrange them strictly according to the order of time, even where the order of matter is thrown out by it. The reader must therefore be prepared for many uninteresting stages, and for a somewhat rambling progress. Subject to these conditions however, I have endeavoured to make my explanations not only accurate but readable; and it will be found that the title which I have chosen fairly describes the nature of the work, for that in throwing as full a light as I could on the writings, I have in fact been obliged to produce as full a life as I could of the writer.

To prevent misconceptions, I may mention here that when I refer for the original of any piece to a manuscript, I do not mean

that it is not to be found in print, but only that my copy comes directly from the manuscript referred to. I thought at one time of stating always, with regard to those which have been published before, where they first appeared: but I found this difficult to do without mistakes, and the fact did not seem important enough to be worth the trouble it involved. Neither have I put any distinguishing mark upon those which are now published for the first time. Readers who know the subject will not need to be told which they are; and if any one be in doubt whether a piece is old or new, he knows that it is new to him. But I expect that the arrangement and setting forth will make much of the oldest matter as new as the newest, even to those who know the subject best; and if attention should be directed only or specially to the pieces which have not appeared before, the best part of my labour would be lost.

There are also certain typographical arrangements which will be most conveniently explained here.

That the reader may the more readily know at all times what he has before him, I have employed in the text three different types, easily distinguishable from each other. Everything printed in the larger type is Bacon's; everything in the second size is mine; everything in the third belongs to some other writer.

By this arrangement all confusion is avoided, except in a few cases of doubtful authorship. And for these, in addition to the full explanatory statement with which they are in each case introduced, I have made a special typographical provision: which is this: All pieces which are ascribed to Bacon upon evidence that appears to me inconclusive, have their titles, as set out at the top of the right-hand page, enclosed in brackets. But some are printed in the larger and some in the smaller type. Those in the larger (as for example, the "Letter of Advice to Queen Elizabeth," pp. 47–56) are such as I myself incline, though doubtfully, to accept as Bacon's: those in the smaller (as the "Notes on the State of Christendom," pp. 18–30) are such as I incline to think he had no hand in.

J. S.

September, 1861.

CORRIGENDA FOR THE PREVIOUS VOLUMES.

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Vol.	p.	l.	for	read
I.	vi.	6	four	five.
	46	n. 4	Erdman	Erdmann.
	72	n. 1	naturale	naturali.
	75	n. 1	74	73.
	76	n. 1	law of gravitation	those laws.
	210	n. 2	Aughiera	Anghiera.
	218	n. 1, l. 11	vel	id.
	242	n. 2	a molluscous animal . . . is . . . it derives . . . it	serpent medusæ . . . are . . . they derive . . . them.
	265	26	9	(Note.) So in original.
	277	n.	Kitchen	Kitchin.
	303	9	Poterant	(Note.) So in original.
	327	n. 3	*Pancosmias*	*Pancosmia.*
	338	1	Sic	Sit.
	464	n. 2	M. Lemaistre	Joseph de Maistre.
	511	15	posset	possent.
	532	16	augusto	angusto.
	550	n. 2	Transfer this note to the next page, l. 20.	
	573	6 (up)	quæ	qua.
		8 (up)	fabulæ	fabula.
	577	19	*Dele* 3.	
	603	2	obtinere	(Note) So in original.
	618	6	Dictæa	Cretæa; (and note) Dictæa in orig.
	624	8	Terminos	terminos.
	651	26	vidimus	(Note.) So in original.
	660	n.	*Accomodationis*	*Accommodationis.*
	662	13	æteris	cæteris.
	683	n. last line but one.	*Dele* 4.	
	717	n.	ἀνάκγη	ἀνάγκη.
	723	n. 1	1	13.
	758	5	homino	homini.
	767	12	adioratur	adoriatur.
	771	n.	κρότν	κρότον.
II.	Frontispiece		56	58.
	14	10	installantur	instillantur.
	24	10	Molendorum	Molendinorum.
	28	16	*Scotomiam*	(Note.) So in original. It should be *Scotomiam.*
	56	22	accidente	accedente.
	119	20	vident	vident, (inserting comma).
	124	26	et	est.
	137	18	Etesius	Eresius.
	167	1	est	et.
	211	6	calore	colore.
	247	12	nec	et. (*Neo* in original. But compare vol. iii. p. 693, l. 24.)

Vol.	p.	l.	for	read
II.	248	20	ignes	ignis.
	315	n.	317	319.
	345	30	is the	is in the (and *dele* note).
	634	10	Leucadians	*Dele* note.
	638	13	her	
	680			
III.	100	last	gradu, reditu ;	gradu ; reditu,
	112	19	After "principio,"	*Dele* comma.
	155	n. 2	*Dele* all the English words.	
	329	n. 1	255	257.
	412	14	Transfer 3 to the end of the paragraph.	
	427	n. 2	I cannot, etc.	Which cannot chuse But weep to have that which it fears to lose.
	534	4	adolescentulus	(Note.) Cicero de Clar. Orator. 196.
	736	17	ridiculus	(Note.) See Erasm. Apophth. Lib. vii. p. 599, ed. 1556.
		26	affectis	effectis.
	758	24	contiguatio	contignatio.
	769	22	Pneumetica	Pneumatica.
	824	2 (up)	gem. opale	gem opale.
IV.	457	n. 4	*Dele* borne.	
V.	88	18	justice, in general comparison.	justice in general, by comparison.
	89	29	wide it	wide of it.

LITERARY AND PROFESSIONAL WORKS.

I.	32	25	Saturday	(Note.) So Speed, following Bernard André. But the battle of Bosworth was on a Monday.
		32	chariot	(Note.) Speed ; who infers the fact from André's expression *latenter ingressus est*. It appears however that the true reading is *lætanter*. See 'Memorials of Henry VII.,' Pref. p. xxvi.
	196	n. 3	3rd	11th (and refer to Helps's 'Spanish Conquests in America,' i. 109.)
	359	35	*transmissam*	*transmissum*.
II.	211	18	hunger	*Dele* note.
	257	8 (up)	reasons	reason.
	404	note, l. 1	*Dele* in.	
	449	7 (up)	474	427.
	492	21	*Dele* [not], and substitute for note: "The statement in the text was, I believe, erroneous at the time. But it must stand: see first paragraph of the following page, and the note."	
	570	27	such Courts	such a Court.
	581	2	points	point.
	666	note, l. 6	acceptation	a cessation.

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LETTERS AND LIFE OF FRANCIS BACON.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1560–1580. ÆTAT. 1–20.

1.

THE earliest composition of Bacon's which I have been able to discover is a letter written in his twentieth year from Gray's Inn, [illegible] From that

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Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, an accomplished lady, sister-in-law to the then secretary of state, Sir William Cecil. There is no reason to suppose that he was regarded as a wonderful child. Of the first sixteen years of his life indeed nothing is known that distinguishes him from a hundred other clever and well-disposed boys. He was born at York House, his father's London residence, opening into the Strand (not yet a street) on the north, and sloping plea-

santly to the Thames (not yet built out) on the south. Sometimes there, and sometimes at Gorhambury in Hertfordshire, he passed his infancy; the youngest of eight children—six by a former marriage. In April, 1573,[1] he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, a little earlier than was then usual, being twelve years and three months old. There he resided in the same rooms with his brother Anthony (his own brother, two years older than himself), studying diligently, until Christmas, 1575; apparently with only one considerable interval (*i. e.* from the latter end of August, 1574, to the beginning of March[2]), when the University was dispersed on account of the plague. On the 27th of the following June he and his brother Anthony were admitted "de societate magistrorum" of Gray's Inn;[3] that is, I suppose, *ancients;* a privilege to which they were entitled as the sons of a judge. If we add that during his residence at Cambridge he was rather sickly, as appears by the frequent payments to the "potigarie" in Whitgift's accounts, and that his talents or manners had already been remarked by the courtiers, and drawn upon him the special notice of the Queen herself, who would often talk with him and playfully call him the young Lord Keeper,[4] we have all that is known about him for the first fifteen years and nine months of his life.

Brief however and barren as this record appears, it may help us, when studied by the light which his subsequent history throws back upon it, to understand in what manner and in what degree the accidents of his birth and education had prepared him for the scene on which he was entering. When the temperament is quick and sensitive, the desire of knowledge strong, and the faculties so vigorous, obedient, and equably developed that they find almost all things easy, the mind will commonly fasten upon the first object of interest that presents itself, with the ardour of a first love. Now these qualities, which so eminently distinguished Bacon as a man, must have been in him from a boy; and if we would know the source of those great impulses which began to work in him so early and continued to govern him so long, we must look for it among the circumstances by which his boyhood was surrounded. What his mother taught him we do not know; but we know that she was a learned, eloquent, and religious woman, full of affection and puritanic fervour, deeply interested in the condition of the Church, and per-

[1] See Whitgift's accounts. Brit. Mag. vol. xxxiii. p. 444.

[2] See Brit. Mag. vol. xxxii. p. 365.

[3] See Gray's Inn Book of Orders, p. 56, under date 27th June, 18° Eliz.: "Ad hanc pensionem admissi sunt Anthonius Bacon, Franciscus Bacon, Willms. Bowes, Thomas Balgey, et Rogerus Wilbraham: ac p^r.dt. Anthonius Bacon, Franciscus Bacon, et Willms. Bowes admissi sunt de societate m̄tror. et ceteri de mense clcor."

[4] Vol. i. p. 4.

fectly believing that the cause of the Nonconformists was the whole cause of Christ. Such a mother could not but endeavour to lead her child's mind into the temple where her own treasure was laid up, and the child's mind, so led, could not but follow thither with awful curiosity and impressions not to be effaced. Neither do we know what his father taught him; but he appears to have designed him for the service of the State, and we need not doubt that the son of Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, and nephew of her principal Secretary, early imbibed a reverence for the mysteries of statesmanship, and a deep sense of the dignity, responsibility, and importance of the statesman's calling. It is probable that he was present more than once, when old enough to observe and understand such matters, at the opening of Parliament, and heard his father, standing at the Queen's side, declare to the assembled Lords and Commons the causes of their meeting. It is certain that he was more than once in the immediate presence of the Queen herself, smiled on by the countenance which was looked up to by all the young and all the old around him with love and fear and reverence. Everything that he saw and heard; the alarms, the hopes, the triumphs of the time;[1] the magnitude of the interests which depended upon her government; the high flow of loyalty which buoyed her up and bore her forward; the imposing character of her council, a character which still stands out distinctly eminent at the distance of nearly three centuries; must have contributed to excite in the boy's heart a devotion for her person and her cause. So situated, it must have been as difficult for a young and susceptible imagination not to aspire after civil dignities as for a boy bred in camps not to long to be a soldier. But the time for these was not yet come. For the present his field of ambition was still in the school-room and library; where perhaps from the delicacy of his constitution he was more at home than in the playground. His career there was victorious; new prospects of boundless extent opening on every side; till at length, just about the age at which an intellect of quick growth begins to be conscious of original power, he was sent to the University, where he hoped to learn all that men knew. By the time however that he had gone through the usual course and heard what the various professors had to say, he was conscious of a disappointment. It seemed that towards the end of the sixteenth century men neither knew nor aspired to know more than was to be learned from Aristotle; a strange thing at any time; more strange than ever just then, when the heavens themselves seemed to be taking up the argument on their own behalf,

[1] He was nine years old when the Bull of Excommunication was published and the Rebellion in the North broke out.

and by suddenly lighting up within the very region of the Unchangeable and Incorruptible, and presently extinguishing, a new fixed star as bright as Jupiter—(the new star in Cassiopeia shone with full lustre on Bacon's freshmanship)—to be protesting by signs and wonders against the cardinal doctrine of the Aristotelian philosophy. It was then that a thought struck him, the date of which deserves to be recorded, not for anything extraordinary in the thought itself, which had probably occurred to others before him, but for its influence upon his after-life. If our study of nature be thus barren, he thought, our method of study must be wrong: might not a better method be found? The suggestion was simple and obvious. The singularity was in the way he took hold of it. With most men such a thought would have come and gone in a passing regret; a few might have matured it into a wish; some into a vague project; one or two might perhaps have followed it out so far as to attain a distinct conception of the better method, and hazard a distant indication of the direction in which it lay. But in him the gift of seeing in prophetic vision what might be and ought to be was united with the practical talent of devising means and handling minute details. He could at once imagine like a poet and execute like a clerk of the works. Upon the conviction This may be done, followed at once the question *How* may it be done? Upon that question answered, followed the resolution to try and do it.

Of the degrees by which the suggestion ripened into a project, the project into an undertaking, and the undertaking unfolded itself into distinct proportions and the full grandeur of its total dimensions, I can say nothing. But that the thought first occurred to him during his residence at Cambridge, therefore before he had completed his fifteenth year, we know upon the best authority—his own statement to Dr. Rawley. I believe it ought to be regarded as the most important event of his life; the event which had a greater influence than any other upon his character and future course. From that moment there was awakened within his breast the appetite which cannot be satiated, and the passion which cannot commit excess. From that moment he had a vocation which employed and stimulated all the energies of his mind, gave a value to every vacant interval of time, an interest and significance to every random thought and casual accession of knowledge; an object to live for as wide as humanity, as immortal as the human race; an idea to live in vast and lofty enough to fill the soul for ever with religious and heroic aspirations. From that moment, though still subject to interruptions, disappointments, errors, and regrets, he could never be without either work or hope or consolation.

So much with regard to the condition of his mind at this period we may I think reasonably assume, without trespassing upon the province of the novelist. Such a mind as we know from after experience that Bacon possessed, could not have grown up among such circumstances without receiving impressions and impulses of this kind. He could not have been bred under such a mother without imbibing some portion of her zeal in the cause of the reformed religion; he could not have been educated in the house of such a father, surrounded by such a court, in the middle of such agitations, without feeling loyal aspirations for the cause of his Queen and country; he could not have entertained the idea that the fortunes of the human race might by a better application of human industry be redeemed and put into a course of continual improvement, without conceiving an eager desire to see the process begun.

Assuming then that a deep interest in these three great causes—the cause of reformed religion, of his native country, of the human race through all their generations—was thus early implanted in that vigorous and virgin soil, we must leave it to struggle up as it may, according to the accidents of time and weather. Many a bad season it will meet with; many a noble promise will be broken.

Sæpius illum
Expectata seges vanis eludet aristis.

It is the universal error of hope and youth to overlook impediments and embrace more than can be accomplished, and to the latter years of all great undertakings is left the melancholy task of selecting from among many cherished purposes those which with least injury to the whole design may be abandoned. But though in the history of society an abandoned purpose may rightly go for nothing, it is not so in the history of a man. A man's intentions, so long as they deserve the name of intentions, mix with his views, affect his actions, and are so much a part of himself that unless we take them into the account we can never understand the real conditions of the problem which his life presents to him for solution. Of Bacon's life at any rate I am persuaded that no man will ever form a correct idea, unless he bear in mind that from very early youth his heart was divided between these *three* objects, distinct but not discordant; and that though the last and in our eyes the greatest was his favourite and his own, the other two never lost their hold upon his affections. Not until he felt his years huddling and hurrying to their close did he consent to abandon the hope of doing something for them all; nor indeed is it easy to find any period of his life in which some fortunate turn of affairs might not have enabled him to fulfil it.

But these perplexing necessities are as yet far away, beyond the horizon. For the present we must picture him as in the season of victorious and all-embracing hope, dreaming on things to come, and rehearsing his life to himself in that imaginary theatre where all things go right; for such was his case when—a hopeful, sensitive, bashful, amiable boy, wise and well-informed for his age, and glowing with noble aspirations—he put forth into the world with happy auspices in his sixteenth year.

2.

Sir Nicholas Bacon could not be unaware of his favourite son's rare qualifications for civil employment. He knew, by seventeen years' experience of Elizabeth's arduous, anxious, and prosperous government, how deeply the State stood in need of the best abilities it could command. Perhaps he regretted to see such a mind turning its energies to objects which were really of less immediate urgency, and probably seemed to him of less ultimate importance (for in the eyes of an old privy councillor the King of Spain might well appear to be a more dangerous enemy of the human race than Aristotle); and being deeply impressed with the perilous condition in which England and therefore the Protestant religion—*the* religion, as he would have called it—then stood, wished to draw him away from the pursuit of shadows by placing him face to face with the realities of life. At that moment a favourable opportunity presented itself. If England showed an example of the splendid effects of successful government dealing with difficult times, France showed an example not less striking of the fatal results of *mis*government, in circumstances not otherwise much unlike. Both countries possessed great natural advantages: in both the materials of trouble abounded, arising in both from the same cause—divisions in religion. Yet in England all functions of the State proceeded in healthy, vigorous, and united action, while in France everything was in misery and disorder,—"the offices of justice sold, the treasury wasted, the people polled, the country destroyed;"[1] and all through a few years of corrupt, violent, or feeble administration. Just then Sir Amias Paulet was going out as ambassador to France, and Sir Nicholas resolved that his son, who had seen at home the efficacy of a good regimen in keeping the body politic sound, should go with him, and see the symptoms of disease produced in a similar subject by a bad one.

Sir Amias landed at Calais on the 25th of September, 1576, and succeeded Dr. Dale as ambassador in France in the following Feb-

[1] *Notes on the Present State of Christendom*, printed in the next chapter.

ruary.[1] With the particulars of his employment we need not trouble ourselves, as it is not probable that Francis, though he is said to have been once sent home with a message to the Queen,[2] had much to do with them. But the general aspect of affairs on the continent of Europe would naturally engage the attention of an intelligent boy, and the house of the English ambassador in France would give him the best opportunities of understanding the movements of the different powers, and their bearing upon the interests of his own country. The period of his residence there was full of great matters. It included the short, aspiring, and dangerous career of Don John of Austria; his "perpetual edict of peace" pretended and broken; his victory at Gemblours; his practices by secret help from the Pope to marry the Queen of Scots and invade England; his death "in no ill season." It included the treaty of mutual assistance between England and the states of Holland; the ineffectual effort made by England, France, and Austria to compose the troubles of the Netherlands; the beginning and the end of the sixth civil war in France; the opening of the negotiation for a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou; the preparation and accidental diversion of a design for invading Ireland, under Sebastian King of Portugal and Thomas Stukley the English fugitive, supported by the Pope and the King of Spain. And in the middle of these alarms and great disturbances, the business of the mission to which he was attached took him in the wake of the Court through several of the French provinces, —from Paris to Blois, from Blois to Tours, from Tours to Poitiers, where in the autumn of 1577 he resided for three months. So that he had excellent opportunities of studying foreign policy. Of the manner in which he spent his time however we have no information, except what we may gather from a few casual allusions dropped by himself in his later life, which only show that his observation was active and his memory retentive; and something, perhaps, from the inscription on a miniature painted by Hilliard in 1578, which indicates the impression made by his conversation upon those who heard it. There may be seen his face as it was in his eighteenth year, and round it may be read the significant words—the natural ejaculation, we may presume, of the artist's own emotion—*Si tabula daretur digna, animum mallem:* if one could but paint his mind!

He was still at Paris, and was already wishing to be at home again,[3] when about the 17th February, 1578–9, from one of those vague presentiments of evil which make no impression upon the waking judgment but so often govern the dream, he dreamed that

[1] Burghley's Diary: Murdin, pp. 778, 779. [2] Rawley: Life, vol. i. p. 4.
[3] See his own statement to Mr. Faunt, chap. ii. § 4.

his father's house in the country was plastered all over with black mortar.[1] And certain it was that about that time his father, having accidentally fallen asleep at an open window during the great thaw which followed a great snow,[2] was seized with a sudden and fatal illness of which he died in a few days. It was a critical conjuncture for Francis. The question whether he was to be an independent or a dependent man,—a man who might "live to study," or a man who must "study to live,"—was then trembling in the balance; and this accident turned the scale against him. Sir Nicholas, having provided for the rest of his sons, had at that time (so Dr. Rawley was informed) laid by a considerable sum of money, which he meant to employ in purchasing an estate for Francis. His sudden death prevented the purchase, and left Francis with only a fifth part of the fortune intended for him. An accident of great moment; which perplexed the problem of his life by a new and most inconvenient condition. Like a general who after laying out the design of his campaign suddenly finds his commissariat fail, he must now readjust his plans, combining with them some kind of employment which will pay. There was no help for it however, and the less time lost the better. The law was his most obvious and on many accounts his most promising resource; and being already an ancient of Gray's Inn,[3] he sate down at once to make himself a working lawyer. If the accidents should prove favourable, he might even find an advantage in it; if not, he would at least find a subsistence. He left Paris for England on the 20th of March, 1578–9, bearing a despatch from Sir Amias Paulet to the Queen, in which he was mentioned as "of great hope, endued with many good and singular parts," and one who, "if God gave him life, would prove a very able and sufficient subject to do her Highness good and acceptable service."[4] Soon after (probably in Trinity Term, but I cannot be sure) he commenced his regular career as a student at law; and for the next year, during which we have no further news of him, we may suppose him to be sufficiently occupied with his new studies; as wishing to push himself on with all speed, that he may be the sooner ripe for any worthier or more congenial employment that may offer. And this brings us up to the date of his first letter.

[1] See Sylva Sylvarum, vol. ii. p. 666. [2] See Apophthegms, vol. vii. p. 183.

[3] He had also been admitted during his absence "of the grand company." See Book of Orders, p. 59, under date 21st Nov. 19 Eliz.: "It is further ordered that all his [Sir Nicholas Bacon's] sons, now admitted of the house, viz. Nicholas, Nathaniel, Edward, Anthony, and Francis, shall be of the grand company, and not to be bound to any vacations."

[4] State Paper Office: French Correspondence.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1580–1584. ÆTAT. 20–24.

1.

THE first letter of Bacon's which I have met with was written, as I said, from Gray's Inn in his twentieth year. It is dated the 11th of July 1580, and addressed to a Mr. Doyly, in Paris. It has little interest for us, except as being the earliest of his writings that has come down to us; and the less because we know nothing either of the person to whom it was addressed or the circumstances to which it alludes. It seems that Francis had reported to his brother something which he had heard about Doyly: that Doyly had written two letters of explanation, and sent them to Francis to be forwarded to their destination if he thought fit: that Francis, thinking that he was under some false impression and that the explanation would do more harm than good, determined not to deliver the letters, and wrote to tell him so. His advice being to let the matter drop, he studiously avoids particulars, and means to be intelligible only to the person he is addressing. To the information which may be thus gathered from the letter itself, I can only add that Anthony Bacon had set out on his travels the year before, and resided for some time at Paris, and that "Mr. D. Doyly began his travel with him," then went to Flanders, where he was "of long time resident at Antwerp, depending upon Mr. Norris there," and returned to England in the spring of 1583. "He hath been of late" (says the writer from whom I derive this information) "extremely sick in those parts, and remaineth wonderfully altered since I see him in France, and having through ill order (as some say) caused this change in himself, I think his time not the best bestowed on the other side. I love the gentleman, and therefore must not credit what I hear on this behalf."[1]

[1] See letter from Nicholas Faunt to Anthony Bacon, May 6th, 1583: Lambeth MSS. 647, p. 72. Nicholas Faunt was one of Walsingham's secretaries, and an intimate friend and constant correspondent of Anthony Bacon's. Their acquaintance had commenced at Paris. In the beginning of 1581 Faunt travelled into Germany, where he spent three months and a half. The next six or seven he spent between Geneva and the north of Italy. February and March, 1581-2, he passed at Paris, whence he returned in the beginning of April to London. He sympathized strongly with the Puritan party in religion, but was a diligent observer of public

To MR. DOYLIE.[1]

Mr. Doylie,

This very afternoon, giving date to these letters of mine, I received yours by the hands of Mr. Winibank. To the which I thought convenient not only to make answer, but also therein to make speed; lest upon supposition that the two letters enclosed were according to their direction delivered, you should commit any error, either in withholding your letters so much the longer where peradventure they mought be looked for, or in not withholding to make mention of these former letters in any others of a latter despatch. The considerations that moved me to stay the letters from receipt, whether they be in respect that I take this course to be needless, or insufficient, or likely to breed to more inconvenience otherwise than to do good as it is meant,—in sum, such they are that they prevail with my simple discretion, which you have put in trust in ordering the matter, to persuade me to do as I have done. My trust and desire likewise is, that you will repose and satisfy yourself upon that which seemeth good to me herein, being most privy to the circumstances of the matter, and tendering my brother's credit as I ought, and not being misaffected to you neither. By those at whom you glance, if I know whom you mean, I know likewise that you mean amiss; for I am able upon knowledge to acquit them from being towards this matter. For mine own part, truly Mr. Doylie I never took it but that your joining in company and travel with my brother proceeded not only of goodwill in you,

affairs and an able intelligencer. Copious extracts from his letters may be seen in Birch's Memorials of Queen Elizabeth.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 647, 14. The original letter in Bacon's own hand: probably the earliest specimen remaining of his handwriting. Docketed by Anthony Bacon, "My Bro: Fra: his lre to Mr. Doylie, 1580." Addressed, "To my verye frend Mr. Doylie delr these: at Parris."

All the letters for which I refer to the Lambeth collection are printed from copies made (or, if they had been printed before, collated with the originals) by myself in 1843 or 1844; when Dr. Maitland was librarian, from whom no diligently disposed student ever failed to receive all possible assistance and encouragement, and to whom I in particular am indebted for facilities in studying the volumes under his charge for which I cannot sufficiently thank him. The copies of some of these letters lately published by Mr. Hepworth Dixon (*Personal History of Lord Bacon*. Murray, 1861) differ, I observe, very much from mine; most of them in the words and sense, more or less; and some in the name of the person writing, or the person written to, or both. But as mine are more intelligible, and were made with care and at leisure and when my eyes were better than they are now, I do not suspect any material error in them, and have not thought it worth while to apply for leave to compare them again with the originals.

but also of his motion, and that your mind was always rather by desert than pretence of friendship to earn thanks than to win them; neither would I say thus much to you if I would stick to say it in any place where the contrary were enforced; and in that I certified my brother of this matter being delivered unto me for truth, I had this consideration, that between friends more advertisements are profitable than true. My request unto you is that you will proceed in your good mind towards my brother's well-doing, and although he himself can best both judge and consider of it, yet I dare say withal that his friends will not be unthankful to misconstrue it, but ready to acknowledge it upon his liking; and as for this matter, if you take no knowledge at all of it, I will undertake it upon my knowledge that it shall be the better choice. Thus betake I you to the Lord. From Gray's Inn, the xith of July, 1580.

Your very friend,

Fr. Bacon.

2.

From the foregoing letter we learn that Bacon was now living at Gray's Inn. From the three next we may partly gather what his views and hopes were with regard to the ordering of his studies and life. His intention was to study the common law as his profession; but at the same time it was his wish and hope to obtain some employment in it which should make him independent of ordinary practice at the Bar. What the particular employment was for which he hoped I cannot say; something probably connected with the service of the Crown, to which the memory of his father, an old and valued servant prematurely lost, his near relationship to the Lord Treasurer, and the personal notice which he had himself received from the Queen, would naturally lead him to look. It seems that he had spoken to Burghley on the subject, and made some overture; which Burghley undertook to recommend to the Queen; and that the Queen, who though slow to bestow favours was careful always to encourage hopes, entertained the motion graciously and returned a favourable answer. The proposition, whatever it was, having been explained to Burghley in conversation, is only alluded to in these letters. It seems to have been so far out of the common way as to require an apology, and the terms of the apology imply that it was for some employment as a lawyer. And this is all the light I can throw upon it.

To LADY BURGHLEY.[1]

My singular good Lady,

I was as ready to show myself mindful of my duty by waiting on your Ladyship at your being in town as now by writing, had I not feared lest your Ladyship's short stay and quick return mought well spare one that came of no earnest errand. I am not yet greatly perfect in ceremonies of court, whereof I know your Ladyship knoweth both the right use and true value. My thankful and serviceable mind shall be always like itself, howsoever it vary from the common disguising. Your Ladyship is wise and of good nature to discern from what mind every action proceedeth, and to esteem of it accordingly. This is all the message which my letter hath at this time to deliver, unless it please your Ladyship further to give me leave to make this request unto you, that it would please your good Ladyship in your letters wherewith you visit my good Lord to vouchsafe the mention and recommendation of my suit; wherein your Ladyship shall bind me more unto you than I can look ever to be able sufficiently to acknowledge. Thus in humble manner I take my leave of your Ladyship, committing you as daily in my prayers so likewise at this present to the merciful providence of the Almighty. From G. Inn, this 16 September, 1580.

Your Ladyship's most dutiful and bounden nephew,

B. FRA.

To LORD BURGHLEY.[2]

My singular good Lord,

My humble duty remembered and my humble thanks presented for your Lordship's favour and countenance, which it pleased your Lordship at my being with you to vouchsafe me above my degree and desert, my letter hath no further errand but to commend unto your Lordship the remembrance of my suit which then I moved unto you, whereof it also pleased your Lordship to give me good hearing so far forth as to promise to tender it unto her Majesty, and withal to add in the behalf of

[1] Lansd. MSS. 31. 14. Copy: no address.
[2] Lansd. MSS. 31. 14. Copy in the same hand: also without address. Docketed *B. Fra.*

it that which I may better deliver by letter than by speech, which is, that although it must be confessed that the request is rare and unaccustomed, yet if it be observed how few there be which fall in with the study of the common laws, either being well left or friended, or at their own free election, or forsaking likely success in other studies of more delight and no less preferment, or setting hand thereunto early without waste of years; upon such survey made, it may be my case may not seem ordinary, no more than my suit, and so more beseeming unto it. As I force myself to say this in excuse of my motion, lest it should appear unto your Lordship altogether undiscreet and unadvised, so my hope to obtain it resteth only upon your Lordship's good affection toward me and grace with her Majesty, who methinks needeth never to call for the experience of the thing, where she hath so great and so good of the person which recommendeth it. According to which trust of mine, if it may please your Lordship both herein and elsewhere to be my patron, and to make account of me as one in whose well-doing your Lordship hath interest, albeit indeed your Lordship hath had place to benefit many, and wisdom to make due choice of lighting-places for your goodness, yet do I not fear any of your Lordship's former experiences for staying my thankfulness borne in heart,[1] howsoever God's good pleasure shall enable me or disable me outwardly to make proof thereof. For I cannot account your Lordship's service distinct from that which I [owe][2] to God and my Prince; the performance whereof to best proof and purpose is the meeting point and rendezvous of all my thoughts. Thus I take my leave of your Lordship in humble manner, committing you, as daily in my prayers, so likewise at this present, to the merciful protection of the Almighty. From G. Inn, this 16 of September, 1580.

Your most dutiful and bounden nephew,

B. Fra.

To Lord Burghley.[3]

My singular good Lord,

Your Lordship's comfortable relation of her Majesty's gra-

[1] So in MS. I suppose the transcriber has missed out some words.

[2] MS. omits "owe."

[3] Lansd. MSS. 81. 16. Copy in the same hand: no address. Docketed *B. Fra.* Another docket in a more modern hand describes it as a transcript by Sir Michael Hickes of Fra. Bacon's letter to the L. Treasurer Burghley.

cious opinion and meaning towards me, though at that time your leisure gave me not leave to show how I was affected therewith, yet upon every representation thereof it entereth and striketh so much more deeply into me, as both my nature and duty presseth me to return some speech of thankfulness. It must be an exceeding comfort and encouragement to me, setting forth and putting myself in way towards her Majesty's service, to encounter with an example so private and domestical of her Majesty's gracious goodness and benignity; being made good and verified in my father so far forth as it extendeth to his posterity, accepting them as commended by his service, during the non-age, as I may term it, of their own deserts. I, for my part, am well content that I take least part either of his abilities of mind or of his worldly advancements, both which he held and received, the one of the gift of God immediate, the other of her Majesty's gift: yet in the loyal and earnest affection which he bare to her Majesty's service, I trust my portion shall not be with the least, nor in proportion with my youngest birth. For methinks his precedent should be a silent charge upon his blessing unto us all in our degrees, to follow him afar off, and to dedicate unto her Majesty's service both the use and spending of our lives. True it is that I must needs acknowledge myself prepared and furnished thereunto with nothing but a multitude of lacks and imperfections. But calling to mind how diversly and in what particular providence God hath declared himself to tender the estate of her Majesty's affairs, I conceive and gather hope that those whom he hath in a manner pressed for her Majesty's service, by working and imprinting in them a single and zealous mind to bestow their days therein, he will see them accordingly appointed of sufficiency convenient for the rank and standing where they shall be employed: so as under this her Majesty's blessing I trust to receive a larger[1] allowance of God's graces. As I may hope for these, so I can assure and promise for my endeavour that it shall not be in fault; but what diligence can entitle me unto, that I doubt not to recover. And now seeing it hath pleased her Majesty to take knowledge of this my mind, and to vouchsafe to appropriate me unto her service, preventing any desert of mine with her princely liberality; first, [I am moved][2] humbly to beseech your Lordship to present to her Majesty my

[1] *longer* in MS.

[2] The words no longer legible in the original.

more than most humble thanks therefore, and withal having regard to mine own unworthiness to receive such favour, and to[1] the small possibility in me to satisfy and answer what her Majesty conceiveth, I am moved to become a most humble suitor unto her Majesty, that this benefit also may be affixed unto the other; which is, that if there appear not in me such towardness of service as it may be her Majesty doth benignly value me and assess me at, by reason of my sundry wants, and the disadvantage of my nature, being unapt to lay forth the simple store of these inferior gifts which God hath allotted unto me most to view; yet that it would please her excellent Majesty not to account my thankfulness less for that my disability is great to show it; but to sustain me in her Majesty's gracious opinion, whereupon I only rest, and not upon expectation of any desert to proceed from myself towards the contentment[2] thereof. But if it shall please God to send forth an occasion whereby my faithful affection may be tried, I trust it shall save me labour for ever making more protestation of it after. In the meantime, howsoever it be not made known to her Majesty, yet God knoweth it through the daily solicitations wherewith I address myself unto him in unfeigned prayer for the multiplying of her Majesty's prosperities. To your Lordship, whose recommendation, I know right well, hath been material to advance her Majesty's good opinion of me, I can be but a bounden servant. So much may I safely promise and purpose to be, seeing public and private bonds vary not, but that my service to God, her Majesty, and your Lordship draw in a line. I wish therefore to show it with as good proof, as I say it with good faith. From G. Inn, this 18 Oct. 1580.

Your lordship's dutiful and bounden nephew,

B. FRA.

8.

From this time we have no further news of Francis Bacon till the 15th of April, 1582[3]; but as we find that he was then residing as before in Gray's Inn, where he was admitted Utter Barrister on the 27th of June following,[4] we may suppose that he had been going on

[1] *in* in MS. [2] *entertainment* in MS. [3] Birch's Memorials, i. 22.

[4] See Order Book, under date 27 June, A° R. xxiv°. "Mr. Francis Bacon, Mr. Edward Morrison, Mr. Roger Wilbraham, and Mr. Lawrence Washington, utter barristers at this pension."

quietly with his legal studies. His correspondence with his brother, who was travelling and gathering political intelligence on the Continent, would at the same time naturally keep up his interest in foreign affairs; and if that paper of notes concerning "The State of Europe," which was printed as his in the supplement to Stephens's second collection in 1734, reprinted by Mallet in 1760, and has been placed at the beginning of his political writings in all editions since 1763, be really of his composition, this is the period of his life to which it belongs. I must confess, however, that I am not satisfied with the evidence or authority upon which it appears to have been ascribed to him.

Stephens unfortunately did not live to superintend the publication of his collection. The letters and papers contained in the first 231 pages (the volume consists of 515) had been committed by him to the press before his last illness, and he had written a preface and an introductory memoir. The rest were selected from his papers under the superintendence of his friend John Locker, and with this addition (which I have called the supplement) the whole volume was published after his death by Mary Stephens, the widow. The notes on the state of Europe are in the supplement.

Of the collection generally, Stephens in his preface gives the following account:—

"Having many years past transcribed from the originals several letters and memoirs of the Lord Bacon, which had never been made public, and disposed them with others in a series of time, I then engaged myself to make a supplement thereto, if I might be obliged with other of his Lordship's genuine writings. And to that end a gentleman, long since deceased, gave me the opportunity of copying some other of his Lordship's genuine letters which had been a part of the former collection: but not having a sufficient number, and being soon concerned in affairs of another nature, I laid aside all thoughts of troubling myself or others in the same kind, till the Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford was pleased to put into my hands some neglected manuscripts and loose papers, to see whether any of the Lord Bacon's compositions lay concealed there, that were fit to be published. Upon the perusal I found some of them written and others amended with his Lordship's own hand, and believed that all of them had been in possession of Dr. Rawley, his Lordship's chaplain, and faithful editor of many of his works. I found that several of the treatises had been published by him, and that others, certainly genuine, which had not, were fit to be transcribed, and so preserved, if not divulged."—Preface, p. iii.

Now I have little doubt that this paper on the state of Europe was among those manuscripts or loose papers of which Stephens here speaks; for the editor of the supplementary pieces informs us that they were "added from originals" found among Stephens's papers;

and the original of this tract, having no doubt been returned to Lord Oxford, is now among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. I do not find however that Stephens had left any note of his opinion or the grounds of it concerning the authorship of this particular paper; and, whatever his opinion may have been, it is probable that all the evidence upon which it rested is as accessible to us as it was to him. To me this evidence does not appear strong enough to justify an editor in printing the tract as an undoubted work of Bacon's. The Harleian MS. is a copy in an old hand, probably contemporary, —but not Francis Bacon's. Blank spaces have been left here and there by the transcriber, as if for words which he could not decipher; and these words have been filled in by another hand,—but neither does this hand resemble Francis Bacon's. A few sentences have been inserted afterwards by the same hand, and two by another, which is very like *Anthony* Bacon's; none in Francis's. The blanks have all been filled up, but no words have been corrected, though it is obvious that in some places they stand in need of correction. Certain allusions to events then passing (which will be pointed out in their place) prove that the original paper was written, or at least completed, in the summer of 1582, at which time Francis Bacon was studying law in Gray's Inn, while Anthony was travelling in France in search of political intelligence, and was in close correspondence with Nicholas Faunt, a secretary of Sir Francis Walsingham's, who had spent the previous year in France, Germany, Switzerland, and the north of Italy, on the same errand; and was now living about the English court, studying affairs at home, and collecting and arranging the observations which he had made abroad, "having already recovered all his writings and books which he had left behind him in Italy and at Frankfort." (See *Birch's Memoirs*, i. 24.) And it is to be remembered that if this paper belonged to Anthony Bacon, it would naturally descend at his death to Francis, and so remain among his manuscripts, where it is supposed to have been found.

Thus it appears that the external evidence justifies no inference as to the authorship, and the only question is, whether the *style* can be considered as conclusive. To me it certainly is not. But as this is a point upon which the reader should be allowed to judge for himself, and as the paper is interesting in itself and historically valuable and has always passed for Bacon's, it is here printed from the original, though (to distinguish it from his undoubted compositions) in a smaller type.[1]

[1] It is of the less importance to ascertain who it was that filled up the blanks left by the transcriber and added the sentences which have been inserted since the transcript was made, because there is nothing either in the substance or manner of the insertions to show that he was the author. He may have been merely com-

Notes on the Present State of Christendom [1582].[1]

IN the consideration of the present estate of Christendom, depending on the inclination and qualities of the princes governors of the same; First the person of the Pope, acknowledged for supreme of the princes Catholic, may be brought forth.

Pope. Gregory XIII., of the age of seventy years, by surname Boncampagno, born in Bolonia of the meanest state of the people, his father a shoemaker by occupation, of no great learning nor understanding, busy rather in practice than desirous of wars, and that rather to further the advancement of his son and his house, (a respect highly regarded of all the Popes,) than of any inclination of nature, the which yet in these years abhorreth not his secret pleasures. Howbeit, two things especially have set so sharp edge to him, whereby he doth bend himself so vehemently against religion. The one is a mere necessity, the other the solicitation of the King of Spain. For if we consider duly the estate of the present time, we shall find that he is not so much carried with the desire to suppress our religion, as driven with the fear of the downfall of his own, if in time it be not upheld and restored.

The reasons be these: he seeth the King of Spain already in years, and worn with labour and troubles, that there is little hope in him of long life. And he failing, there were likely to ensue great alterations of state in all his dominions, the which should be joined with the like in religion, especially in this divided time, and in Spain already so forward as the fury of the Inquisition can scarce keep in.[2]

In France, the state of that church seemeth to depend on the sole[3] life of the king now reigning, being of a weak constitution, full of infirmities, not likely to have long life, and quite out of hope of any issue. Of the Duke of Anjou he doth not assure himself; besides the opinion conceived of the weakness of the complexion of all that race, giving neither hope of length of life nor of children. And the next to the succession make already profession of religion, besides the increase thereof daily in France. England and Scotland are already, God be thanked, quite reformed, with the better part of Germany. And because the Queen's Majesty hath that reputation to be the defender of the true religion and faith, against her Majesty, as the head of the faithful, is the drift of all their mischiefs.

The King of Spain having erected in his conceit a monarchy, wherein seeking reputation in the protection[4] of religion, this conjunction with the Pope is as necessary to him for the furtherance of his purposes, as to the Pope behoveful for the advancing of his house, and for his authority; the King of Spain having already bestowed on the Pope's son degree of title and of office, with great revenues. To encourage the Pope herein, being head

paring the copy with the original and correcting it. It may be worth while however to add, that if I can trust my recollection of Nicholas Faunt's letters in the Lambeth Library, where, some years since, I read a great number of them, the insertions are all in his hand (except the two which I take to be Anthony Bacon's); and that I suspect him to have been the purveyor, if not the author, of the paper.

[1] Harl. MSS. 7021. 1. Copy in an old hand.

[2] So in MS.

[3] *sollye* in MS.

[4] *protectors* in MS.

of their church, they set before him the analogy of the name Gregory, saying that we were first under a Gregory brought to the faith, and by a Gregory are again to be reduced to the obedience of Rome.

A prophecy likewise is found out that foretelleth, the dragon sitting in the chair of Peter, great things should be brought to pass.

Thus is the King of France solicited against those of the religion in France; the Emperor against those in his dominions; divisions set in Germany; the Low Countries miserably oppressed; and daily attempts against her Majesty, both by force and practice. Hereto serve the seminaries, where none are now admitted but take the oath against her Majesty.

The sect of the Jesuits are special instruments to alienate the people from her Majesty, sow faction, and to absolve them of the oath of obedience, and prepare the way to rebellion and revolt.

Besides, for confirmation of their own religion they have used some reformation of the clergy, and brought in catechizing.

Duke of Tuscany.

To go forth with the princes of Italy next in situation. The great duke of Tuscany, Francesco de' Medici, son to Cosmo, and the third duke of that family and province; of the age of forty years, of disposition severe and sad, rather than manly and grave; no princely port or behaviour more than a great justicer; inclined to peace, and gathering money. All Tuscany is subject unto him, wherein were divers commonwealths; whereof the chief were Florence, Siena, and Pisa, Prato, and Pistoia, saving Lucca, and certain forts on the sea-coast, held by the King of Spain.

He retaineth in his service few, and they strangers, to whom he giveth pensions. In all his citadels he hath garrisons of Spaniards, except at Siena: in housekeeping spendeth little, being as it were in pension, agreeing for so much the year with a citizen of Florence for his diet: he hath a small guard of Swissers, and when he rideth abroad, a guard of forty light horsemen. The militia of his country amounteth to forty thousand soldiers, to the which he granteth leave to wear their weapons on the holy day, and other immunities. Besides, he entertaineth certain men of arms, to the which he giveth seven crowns the month. He also maintaineth seven galleys, the which serve under his knights, erected by his father in Pisa, of the order of St. Stephano: of these galleys three go every year in chase.

His common exercise is in distillations, and in trying of conclusions, the which he doth exercise in a house called Cassino, in Florence, where he spendeth the most part of the day; giving ear in the mean season to matters of affairs, and conferring with his chief officers. His revenues are esteemed to amount to a million and a half of crowns, of the which spending half a million, he layeth up yearly one million. But certainly he is the richest prince in all Europe of coin. The form of his government is absolute, depending only of his will and pleasure, though retaining in many things the ancient offices and show. But those magistrates resolve nothing without his express directions and pleasure. Privy council he useth none, but reposeth most his trust on some secretary, and conferreth chiefly with

his wife, as his father did with one of his secretaries. For matter of examinations, one Corbolo hath the especial trust. He doth favour the people more than the nobility, because they do bear an old grudge to the gentlemen, and the people are the more in number, without whom the nobility can do nothing. One thing in him giveth great contentment to the subjects, that he vouchsafeth to receive and hear all their petitions himself. And in his absence from Florence, those that have suit do resort to the office, and there exhibit their bill indorsed; whereof within three days absolute answer is returned them, unless the matter be of great importance, then have they direction how to proceed. He is a great justicer; and for the ease of the people, and to have the better eye over justice, hath built hard by his palace a fair row of houses for all offices together in one place.

Two years since he married la Signora Bianca,[1] his concubine, a Venetian of Casa Capelli, whereby he entered straiter amity with the Venetians. With the Pope he hath good intelligence, and some affinity by the marriage of Signor Jacomo, the Pope's son, in Casa Sforza.

To the Emperor he is allied, his first wife being the emperor Maximilian's sister.

With Spain he is in strait league, and his mother was of the house of Toledo; his brother likewise, D. Pietro, married in the same house. With France he standeth at this present in some misliking.

With Ferrara always at jar, as with all the dukes of Italy for the preseance, some controversy.

All his revenues arise of taxes and customs; his domains are very small.

He hath by his first wife one son, of the age of four or five years, and four daughters; he hath a base child by this woman, and a base brother, D. Joanni, sixteen years of age, of great expectation.

Two brothers, D. Pietro, and the Cardinal.

Ferrara. The Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso d'Este, the fifth duke, now about forty years of age; his first wife Lucretia, daughter to Cosmo de' Medici, whom they say he poisoned; his second, daughter to Ferdinand the Emperor; his third wife now living, Anne, daughter to the Duke of Mantua. He hath no child. The chief cities of his state are Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio: he is rich in money, growing, as the most of Italy, of exactions; of all the princes in Italy, alone inclineth to the French; with the Pope hath some jar about the passage of a river. The Venetians and he still in great hatred; with Florence hath enmity; with Lucca little skirmishes every year for a castle he buildeth on their confines, to raise a great toll in a strait passage, by reason of his mother a Guise.

Mantua. William, of the house of Gonsaga, the third duke of Mantua; his wife Barbara daughter to the Emperor Ferdinand, by whom he hath a son of twenty-two years of age, and a daughter. His son is called Vincentio, his daughter Anne married of late to the Duke of Ferrara; his son likewise married a year sithence to the Prince of Parma's daughter. The Duke hisself very deformed and crook-backed, well in years. Monferrat like-

[1] *Biana* in MS.

wise appertaineth to him. Divers of his house have pension always, and serve the King of Spain; his brother the Duke de Nevers remaineth in France. He only seeketh to maintain his estate and enrich himself; his greatest pleasure is in horses and building.

The Duke of Urbin, Francesco Maria, of the house of Roveré, the second of that name; a prince of good behaviour and witty. In his state are seven reasonable fair cities: Pesaro, Augubio, Sinigaglia, Fossombrone, Sanleo, Cagli, Urbino. Pesaro and Sinigaglia are fortresses on the seaside, Urbine and Sanleo on the Apennine, well fortified. He holdeth three provinces, Montefeltro, Massa Trebaria, and Vicariato di Mondavio. Urbin.

There have been good princes and valiant of that house, not so great exactors as the rest of Italy, therefore better beloved of their subjects, which love restored their house, being displaced by Pope Leo X.

His wife Leonora, sister [to] the Duke of Ferrara, by whom he hath no children, and now is divorced. He hath two sisters, the one married to the Duke of Gravina, the other to the Prince Bisignano, and a third is to marry, whose name is Lavinia.

Ottaviano, first Duke of Castro, then of Camerino, and after of Parma and Piacenza, with great trouble restored to his estate; now is aged and liveth quietly: his wife Marguerite daughter to Charles V., first wife to Alexander de' Medici first duke of Florence. He hath one son, called Alexander, now general for the King of Spain in the Low Countries; his daughter Vittoria was mother to the Duke of Urbin. Parma.

The Cardinal Farnese his uncle, of great credit in that College, long time hath aspired to be Pope, but withstood by the King of Spain; on whom though now that house depend, yet forgetteth not, as he thinketh, the death of Pier Luigi, and loss of Parma and Piacenza, restored to their house by the French.

The young princes of Mirandola, in the government of their mother Fulvia Correggio, and under the protection of the King of France, who maintaineth there a garrison.

The Duke of Savoy, Carolo Emanuel, a young prince of twenty-one years, very little of stature, but well brought up and disposed. His territory is the greatest of any duke of Italy, having Piemont beyond the Alps, and Savoy on this side. Divers fair towns and strongholds. Richly left of his father, who was accounted a very wise prince. This Duke, as is thought, is advised to remain always indifferent between Spain and France, being neighbour to them both, unless some accident do counsel him to declare himself in behalf of either. Therefore both those princes go about by marriage to have him nearer allied to them. His mother was sister to King Francis the Great; his father being expulsed his dominions by the French, was restored by the King of Spain, with whom while he lived he had strait intelligence. As yet his inclination doth not appear; he retaineth his father's alliances with Venice especially in Italy and with the Emperor. With Florence he hath question for pre-eminence. Savoy.

His revenues are judged to [be] a million of crowns yearly; [now he is in arms against Geneva, and guarded against Bern.][1]

Lucca. Of free estates, Lucca the least is under the protection of the King of Spain: small in territory; the city itself well fortified and provided, because of the doubt they have of the Duke of Florence.

Genoa. Genoa is recommended to the King of Spain; their galleys serve under him, and the chiefest of their city are at his devotion. Though there is a faction for the French, whereto he doth hearken so weakly, that the Spaniard is there all in all; by whom that state in few years hath made a marvellous gain. And the King of Spain hath great need of their friendship, for their ports, where embark and land all men, and whatsoever is sent between Spain and Milan.

They hold Corsica an island, and Savona a fair city, and the goodliest haven in Italy, until it was destroyed by the Genevois; the which now make no profession but of merchandise.

There is a dangerous faction amongst them, between the ancient houses and the new, which were admitted into the ancient families.

St. George is their treasure-house and receiver, as at Venice St. Mark.

Venice. Venice retaining still the ancient form of government, is always for itself in like estate and all one; at this time between the Turk and the King of Spain, in continual watch, seeming to make more account of France, not so much in hope of any great affiance at this present to be had in him, but for the reputation of that nation, and the amity always they have had with the same, and behoving them so to do. They use it with good foresight, and speedy preventing, sparing for no charge to meet as they may with every accident. Of late they have had some jar with the Pope, as well about the Inquisition as title of land. With Ferrara and the Venetians is ancient enmity, specially because he receiveth all their banished and fugitives. They make[2] most account of the Duke of Savoy amongst the princes of Italy. They maintain divers ambassadors abroad, with the Turk, the Emperor, France, Spain, and at Rome: with them is an ambassador of France and Savoy always resident, and an agent of Spain, because they gave the preseance to France.

In this it seemeth all the potentates of Italy do agree to let all private grudges give place to foreign invasion, more for doubt of alteration in religion than for any other civil cause.

There is none among them at this day in any likelihood to grow to any greatness. For Venice is bridled by the Turk and Spain. The Duke of Tuscany seeketh rather title than territory, otherwise than by purchasing. Savoy is yet young. The rest of no great force of themselves. France

[1] Inserted since the MS. was copied, in the same hand which filled the blanks. This war was fresh news in England on the 1st of August, 1582. See Faunt's letter to Anthony Bacon. Birch's Memoirs, i. 24.

[2] *made* in MS., which seems to have been corrected into *make*.

hath greatly lost the reputation they had in Italy, by neglecting the occasions offered, and suffering the King of Spain to settle himself.

The Emperor Adolphe[1] of the house of Austriche, son to Maximilian, about thirty years of age; no strong constitution of body, and greatly weakened by immoderate pleasure; no great quickness of spirit. In fashion and apparel all Spanish, where he had his education in his youth. He was most governed by his mother while she remained with him;[2] and yet altogether by his steward Dyetristan, and his great chamberlain Romphe, both pensionaries of Spain, and there with him maintained. Emperor.

Of the empire he hath by the last imperial diet one million of dollars towards the maintenance of the garrisons of Hungary; and, besides, his guards are paid of the empire.

To the Turk he payeth yearly tribute for Hungary 40,000 dollars, besides the charge of the presents and his ambassadors, amounting to more than the tribute; in all 100,000 dollars.

The ordinary garrisons in Hungary are to the number of but evil paid at this time.

The revenues and subsidies of Hungary do not pass 100,000 florins. The last Emperor affirmed solemnly, that the charge of Hungary amounted to one million and a half.

The revenues of Bohemia, ordinary and extraordinary, amount to 50,000 dollars.

In the absence of the Emperor, the Baron of Rosemberg is governor of Bohemia, who possesseth almost a fourth part of that country, and is a Papist; neither he nor his brother have children: he beareth the Emperor in hand to make him his heir.

Of Silesia and Moravia, the Emperor yearly may have 200,000 florins.

Out of Austriche of subsidy and tribute 100,000 florins, for his domains are all sold away and engaged.

Thus all his revenues make half a million of florins.

To his brothers Maximilian and Ernest he alloweth yearly, by agreement made between them, 45,000 florins apiece, as well for Austriche, as that might hereafter fall unto them by the decease of the Archduke Ferdinand in Tyrol, the which shall come to the Emperor.

The Emperor altogether dependeth on Spain, as well in respect of his house, as the education he received there, and the rule his mother hath over him with the chief of his council. He is utter enemy to religion, having well declared the same in banishing the ministers out of Vienna, and divers other towns, where he goeth about to plant Jesuits.

Of his subjects greatly misliked, as his house is hateful to all Germany.

The Archduke Charles holdeth Stiria and Carinthia; his chief abode is at Gratz; his wife is sister to the Duke of Bavyre, by whom he hath children.

[1] So in MS. It should be *Rodolphe*. Observe that this is not one of the names for which a blank has been left by the transcriber.

[2] The old Empress left Germany for Portugal in August, 1581. Birch's Mem. i. 16.

The Archduke Ferdinand hath Tyrol, and retaineth the most part of Ilsburg. For his eldest son he hath bought in Germany a pretty state, not far from Ulms; the second is a Cardinal. Now he is a widower, [and said that he shall marry a daughter of the Duke of Mantua.][1]

These are uncles to the Emperor: besides Maximilian and Ernest, he hath two brothers, the Archduke Matthias, that hath a pension of the estates of the Low Countries, and a Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo.

Germany. In Germany there are divers princes diversly affected. The Elector Palatine Ludovic, a Lutheran; his chief abode is at Heidelberg.

His brother, John Casimyre, Calvinist, at Keiseralautern, or Nieustadt.

Richard their uncle at Symyers.

During the life of the last Elector, Ludovic dwelt at Amberg in the Higher Palatinate.

Philip Ludovic dwelt at Norbourgh on the Danow, and is commonly called Duke of .[2]

John dwelleth at Rypont, or Sweybourgh, or in Bergesaber; the other three brethren have no certain dwelling-place. George John, son of Rupert, Count Palatine, dwelleth at Lysselsteyn.

Princes of Germany. Augustus, Duke and Elector of Saxon, remaineth the most part at Dresden on the Elbe; sometimes at Torge on Elbe, a goodly castle fortified by John Frederick. This elector is Lutheran, and great enemy to our profession; of sixty years of age, half-frantic, severe, governed much by his wife, greater exactor than the German princes are wont to be, and retaineth in his service divers Italians; his eldest son married of late the daughter of the Duke of Brandebourg.

The sons of John Frederick, captive, and yet in prison, remain at Coburge in East Franconia, near the forest of Turinge.

The sons of John William abide at Vinaria in Turingia.

Joachim Frederick, son of John George, Elector of Brandebourg, at Hala, in Saxony, on the river of Sala, as administrator of the archbishopric of Magdebourge.

George Frederick, son of George, dwelleth at Orsbuche in East Franconia, or at Blassenbourge, the which was the mansion of his uncle Albert the warrior.

The Elector of Brandebourg, John George, remaineth at Berlin on the river of Sprea: his uncle John dwelleth at Castryne beyond Odera, very strong both by the situation and fortified.

William, Duke of Bavyre, a Papist, at Munich in Bavary, married the daughter of the Duke of Lorrain.

His second brother, Ferdinand, remaineth most at Landshute.

The third, Ernest, is Bishop of Frysinghen and Hildesheim, and late of Liege.

Julius, Duke of Brunswick, at the strong castle of Wolfenbettle on Oder.[3]

[1] Inserted since the transcript was made, by the hand which filled the blanks.
[2] A blank appears to be left for the name.
[3] *Occar* in MS.

Ericke of Brunswick, son to Magnus, uncle to Julius, remaineth at Mynda, or where the rivers of Verra and Fulda do join, making the river of Visurgis navigable.

William, Duke of Luneburge, hath his being at Cella, on the river Albera.

Henry his brother at Grysorn, where before their uncle Francis was wont to dwell.

Otho their cousin, Duke of Luneburge, inhabiteth Harburge on this side the Elbe, over-right against Hamburge.

1. The Duke of Pomerania, John Frederic, dwelleth at Stetim.

2. Bugslaus at Campena, some time an abbey in the county of Bardruse.

3. Ernest Ludovic at Wolgast, on the river of Panis that runneth into the Baltick sea.

4. Barmin at Ragenwald in Further Pomerania, in the borders of Poland and Prussia.

5. Cassimire at Camyn, which bishoprick he holdeth, either as administrator, or in his own possession and right.

Ulricke, Duke of Meckelbourg, remaineth most at Gustrow: his brother John Albert dwelleth at Swerne, whose two sons are in the court of the Duke of Saxon.

Adolph, Duke of Holst and Dytmarch; his chief seat is at Gottorp in the duchy of Sleswick.[1]

John his elder brother, unmarried, hath his abode at Haderberge.

John, son to Christiern, King of Denmark, and brother to the Duke of Holst, and to Frederick, now King of Denmark, is Bishop of Oeselya and Courland in Livonia.

William, Duke of Juliers,[2] Cleve, and Bergen, hath his court at Dusseldorphe in the dukedom of Bergense.

1. William, Landgrave of Hesse, dwelleth at Cassels on Ulda.

2. Ludovic at Marpurge.

3. Philip at Brubache on the Reyne.

4. George at Damstade.

Ludovic, Duke of Wirtenberge, his chief house at Statgard.

Frederic at Montbelgard.

The Marquises of Bath: the elder Ernest, the second Jacob, the third brother yet younger; their chief dwelling-place is at Forthsheim, or at Durlache.

The sons of Philip at the Bath called Baden.

Ernest Joachim, Prince of Anhalt, at Zerbest, in the midway between Magdebourge and Wittemberge: his other mansion is at Dessau on Mylda, where he was born, new built and fortified by his grandfather Ernest; he hath besides the castle of Cathenen, the which was the habitation of Walfange, Prince of Anhalt, his great uncle. Ernest favoureth religion.

George Ernest, Prince and Earl of Henneberg, at Schlewsing, by the forest called Turing.

George, Duke of Silesia and Bricke, of the family of the kings of Poland,

[1] *Gotrope* and *Shadswicke* in MS. [2] *Jubyche* in MS.

dwelleth at Bricke; his eldest son, Joachim Frederick, hath married the daughter of the Prince of Anhalt; his second son, John George.

Henry, Duke of Silesia and Lignitz, son to the brother of George, dwelleth at Lignitz; he hath no children alive.

Frederic, brother to Henry, unmarried.

Charles, Duke of Minsterberg and Ols; his wife the countess of Sternberge in Bohemia, where he maketh his abode.

Henry, brother to Charles, remained at Ols.

John Frederick, Duke of Teschen.

Charles, Duke of Lorrain; his chief court at Nancy.

His eldest son Henry, of man's estate.

Charles, Cardinal Archbishop of Mets.

A daughter in the French Court.

Besides, there are in Germany three Electors Bishops, and divers Bishops of great livings.

The free towns of greatest importance are Norremberge, Auspurg, Ulmes, and Strassebourg: then the cantons of the Swisses, the Grisons, and Valloys.

The greatest trouble in Germany at this time is about the concordate, furthered by the Duke of Saxon and the Count Palatine.

There is at this present no prince in Germany greatly toward or redoubted.

The Duke Casimir's credit is greatly impaired, and his ability small.

The dyet imperial shortly should be held,[1] where the concordate shall be urged, collection for Hungary made, and a King of the Romans named.

France. The French king, Henry III.,[2] of thirty years of age, of a very weak constitution, and full of infirmities; yet extremely given over to his wanton pleasures, having only delight in dancing, feasting, and entertaining ladies, and chamber-pleasures. No great wit, yet a comely behaviour and goodly personage; very poor, through[3] exacting inordinately by all devices of his subjects; greatly repining that revenge[3] and hungry government. Abhorring wars and all action; yet daily worketh the ruin of those he hateth, as all of the religion and the house of Bourbon. Doting fondly on some he chooseth to favour extremely, without any virtue or cause of desert in them, to whom he giveth prodigally. His chief favourites now about him are the Duke Joyeuse, La Valette, Monsieur D'Au.[4]

The Queen Mother ruleth him rather by policy and fear he hath of her, than by his good will; yet he always doth show great reverence towards her.

The Guise is in as great favour with him as ever he was; the house is now the greatest of all France, being allied to Farrare, Savoy, Lorrayne,

[1] The Diet of Augsburg began on the 3rd of July, 1582. Burghley Papers, p. 375.

[2] *second* in MS.

[3] So in MS. Query *though* and *ravening*.

[4] This name is written in the margin by the corrector. No blank had been left for it.

Scotland, and favoured of all the Papists; the French king having his kinswoman to wife, and divers great personages in that realm of his house.

The chiefest at this present in credit in court, whose counsel he useth, are Villeroye, Villequyer, Bellievre, the chancellor and lord keeper, Birague and Chiverny.

He greatly entertaineth no amity with any prince, other than for form; neither is his friendship otherwise respected of others, save in respect of the reputation of so great a kingdom.

The Pope beareth a great sway, and the King of Spain by means of his pensions; and of the Queen Mother with the Guise; she for her two daughters, he for other regard, can do what he list there, or hinder what he would not have done.

The division in his country for matters of religion and state, through miscontentment of the nobility to see strangers advanced to the greatest charges of the realm, the offices of justice sold, the treasury wasted, the people polled, the country destroyed, hath bred great trouble, and like to see more. The faction between the house of Guise against that of Montmorancy, hath gotten great advantage. At this present the King is about to restore Don Antonio, King of Portugal, whereto are great levies and preparation.[1]

Francis, Duke of Anjou and of Brabant,[2] for his calling and quality greatly to be considered as any prince at this day living, being second person to the king his brother, and in likelihood to succeed him. There is noted in the disposition of this prince a quiet mildness, giving satisfaction to all men; facility of access and natural courtesy; understanding and speech great and eloquent; secrecy more than commonly is in the French; from his youth always desirous of action, the which thing hath made him always followed and respected. And though hitherto he hath brought to pass no great purpose, having suffered great wants and resistance both at home and abroad, yet by the intermeddling is grown to good experience, readiness, and judgment, the better thereby able to guide and govern his affairs, both in practice, in treaty, and action. Moreover, the diseased estate of the world doth so concur with this his active forwardness, as it giveth him matter to work upon. And he is the only man to be seen of all them in distress, or desirous [of] alteration. A matter of special furtherance to all such as have achieved great things, when they have found matter disposed to receive form. Duke of Brabant.

And there is to be found no other prince in this part of the world so towards and forward as the Duke, towards whom they in distress may turn their eyes. We do plainly see in the most countries of Christendom so unsound and shaken an estate, as desireth the help of some great person, to set together and join again the pieces asunder and out of joint. Wherefore the presumption is great, and if this prince continue this his course,

[1] A French naval armament was going to his assistance in June, 1582. See Lansd. MSS. 35. fo. 43.

[2] Created Duke of Brabant at Antwerp, in February, 1581–2; prospered during all the year 1582; overthrown at Antwerp, January 7th, 1582–3. See Stow.

he is likely to become a mighty potentate: for, one enterprise failing, other will be offered, and still men evil at ease and desirous of a head and captain, will run to him that is fittest to receive them. Besides, the French, desirous to shake off the civil wars, must needs attempt somewhat abroad. This Duke first had intelligence with the Count Ludovic in King Charles's days, and an enterprise to escape from the court, and in this king's time joined with them of the religion and the malcontents: after was carried against them; seeketh the marriage with her Majesty, so mighty a princess, as it were to marry might with his activity.

He hath had practice in Germany to be created King of Romans, made a sudden voyage with great expedition into the Low Countries, now is there again with better success than so soon was looked for.

Spain. The King of Spain, Philip, son to Charles V., about sixty years of age, a prince of great understanding, subtle and aspiring, diligent and cruel. This king especially hath made his benefit of the time; where his last attempt on Portugal[1] deserveth exact consideration, thereby as by the workmanship to know the master.

The first success he had was at St. Quintin, where he gat a notable hand of the French. He sought to reduce the Low Countries to an absolute subjection.

He hath kept France in continual broil, where, by his pensions, the favour of the house of Guise, by the means of the Queen Mother in contemplation of her nieces, he beareth great sway. With the Pope he is so linked, as he may do what him list, and dispose of that authority to serve his purposes: as he hath gotten great authority in pretending to protect the Church and religion.

He possesseth the one half of Italy, comprehending Sicily and Sardinia, with Naples and Milan; the which estates do yield him little other profit, save the maintenance of so many Spaniards as he keepeth there always.

The Duke of Florence relieth greatly upon him, as well in the respect of the state of Siena, as of the ports he holdeth, and of his greatness. Lucca is under his protection. Genoa, the one faction at his devotion, with their galleys: at his pension is most of the greatest there.

Besides the Low Countries, he holdeth the Franche Countye, the best used of all his subjects, and Luxembourg: the West Indies furnish him gold and silver, the which he consumeth in the wars of the Low Countries, and in pensions, and is greatly indebted, while he worketh on the foundation his father laid, to erect a monarchy, the which if he succeed in the conquest of Portugal, he is likely to achieve, unless death do cut him off.

He hath one son of the years of five by his last wife, two daughters by the French king's sister, two base sons.

He hath greatly sought the marriage of the Queen's daughter of France, sister to his last wife, and cousin german removed.

[1] That he had been "proclaimed King of Portugal by the consent of the whole realm," was sent as news to Lord Burghley from St. Laucas on the 11th of June, 1582. Wright's Eliz. ii. 175.

His revenues are reckoned to amount to [sixteen millions.][1] [The Turk's revenues are thought to be equal with his.]
The chief in credit with him of martial men and for counsel are . . .
He maketh account to have in continual pay 50,000 soldiers.
He maintaineth galleys to the number of [140, whereof there are sixty in Portugal, the rest are at Naples, and other places].[1] Now is on league with the Turk.

D. Antonio, elect King of Portugal, thrust out by the King of Spain, of forty-five years of age, a mild spirit, sober and discreet: he is now in France, where he hath levied soldiers, whereof part are embarked, hoping by the favour of that king, and the good will the Portugals do bear him, to be restored again. He holdeth the Torges, and the East Indians yet remain well affected to him. A case of itself deserving the considering and relief of all other princes. Besides in his person, his election to be noted with the title he claimeth very singular, and seldom the like seen, being chosen of all the people; the great dangers he hath escaped likewise at sundry times. Portugal.

The King of Poland, Stephen Batoaye,[2] a baron of Hungary, by the favour of the Turk chosen King of the Pollacks, after the escape made by the French King; a prince of the greatest value and courage of any at this day, of competent years, sufficient wisdom, the which he hath shewed in the siege of Danske, and the wars with the Moscovite. Poland.

The Hungarians could be content to exchange the Emperor for him. The Bohemians likewise wish him in the stead of the other. He were like to attain to the Empire, were there not that mortal [enmity][3] between those two nations as could not agree in one subjection.

Straight upon his election he married the Infant of Poland, somewhat in years and crooked, only to content the Pollacks, but never companied with her. He doth tolerate there all religions; himself heareth the mass, but is not thought to be a Papist: he had a great part of his education in Turke, after served the last Emperor.

Frederic II., of forty-eight years, King of Denmark and Norway; his wife Sophia, daughter to Ulricke, Duke of Mechelebourg, by whom he hath six children, four daughters and two sons, Christianus and Ulricus, the eldest of five years of age. Denmark.

The chiefest about him, Nicolas Cose his chancellor, in whose counsel he doth much repose.

He hath always 800 horse about his court, to whom he giveth ten dollars the month.

His father deceased in the year 1559, after which he had wars ten years space with the Swede, which gave him occasion to arm by sea. His navy is six great ships of 1500 ton, and fifteen smaller, ten galleys with sail to pass the Straits.

[1] The words within brackets have been inserted since the transcript was made, in a hand very like *Anthony* Bacon's.

[2] So in MS. The name is commonly written *Batory*.

[3] Omitted in MS.

His revenues grow chiefly in customs, and such living as were in the hands of the abbeys, and bishops, whereby he is greatly enriched: his chief haven is Copenhagen,[1] where always his navy lieth.

His brother John, Duke of Holst in Jutland, married to the daughter of the Duke of Inferior Saxony.

Magnus, his other brother, Bishop of Curland, married the daughter of the Moscovite's brother.

The chiefest wars that the King of Denmark hath is with Sweden, with whom now he hath peace. The Duke of Holst is uncle to the king now reigning; they make often alliances with Scotland.

Sweden.

John, King of Sweden, son of Gustavus.

This Gustavus had four sons, Erick, John, Magnus, and Charles.

Erick married a soldier's daughter, by whom he had divers children, and died in prison.

John, now king, married the sister of Sigismond late King of Poland.

Magnus bestraught of his wits.

Charles married a daughter of the Palsgrave.

Five daughters of Gustavus.

Catherine married to the Earl of East Frisland.

Anne to one of the Palsgraves.

Cicilia to the Marquis of Baden.

Sophia to the Duke of Inferior Saxonye.

Elizabeth to the Duke of Mecleburge.

This prince is of no great force nor wealth, but of late hath increased his navigation by reason of the wars between him and the Dane, the which the wars ceasing they hardly maintain.

The Moscovite Emperor of Russia, John Basill, of threescore years of age, in league and amity with no prince, always at war with the Tartarians, and now with the Pollake.

He is advised by no council, but governeth altogether like a tyrant. He hath one son of thirty years of age. Not long sithence this prince deposed himself and set in his place a Tartare, whom he removed again, of late sent an ambassador to Roome, giving some hope to submit himself to that see. Their religion is nearest the Greek Church, full of superstition and idolatry.

4.

In May of this year, 1582, Anthony Bacon obtained a licence of absence for three years longer, intending to visit Italy. But the war between Savoy and Geneva, which broke out in the summer, together with a persecution of the Protestants, made this impracticable; and his friends in England grew very anxious that he should come home. Faunt continued to correspond with him regularly, and it is from his letters that we derive what little information we have

[1] *Coppenhaven* in MS.

with regard to Francis's proceedings from this time to the autumn of 1584. From them we gather little more than that he remained studying at Gray's Inn, occasionally visiting his mother at Gorhambury, or going with her to hear Travers lecture at the Temple,[1] and occasionally appearing at the Court. What particular studies engaged him we are not told; but when we hear (August 6th, 1583) that he used then to be "seen in his outward barrister's habit abroad in the city, and therefore must needs do well;" and when we remember that (if his own report forty years after may be depended on) his first essay on the Instauration of Philosophy, which he called *Temporis Partus Maximus*, was composed about this time, we need not doubt that between Law and Philosophy he found enough to do; nor need we seek so far as Mr. Faunt does for his motive in secluding himself on the following occasion.

"I was yesterday" (says he, writing on the last of May, 1583), "at Gray's Inn upon occasion, when I would not fail (as heretofore I have not when I passed that way) to call in, and know whether your brother will write unto you by my means of conveyance, or whether he hear more lately than myself of your being, as one that is desirous to procure you the most contentment I may from your best friends here, as I should be glad to have the like courtesy used in my behalf when I am, as you are now, absent and far distant from them. But I was answered, by his servant, that he was not at leisure to speak with me, and therefore you must excuse me if I cannot tell you how your mother and other friends do at this present; only I perceive by your brother's boy that he was but newly come from St. Alban's, where I take it my Lady now is, and well. I was asked where you were and what I heard lately from you, but I could say little that he knew not, neither was I so simple to say all to a boy at the door, his master being within. This strangeness which hath at other times been used towards me by your brother, hath made me sometimes to doubt that he greatly mistaketh me, for I do these offices both towards you and him upon no base respect or for insinuation, but only of good affection to either for the best considerations, and yet, in truth, the rather unto him by reason of the good acceptation it hath pleased you to yield of the poor acquaintance and mutual amity that is between us, and I hope shall not be lessened hereafter: whereof thus much to yourself alone, which I trust you shall only take knowlege of, and in your discretion use it accordingly."

Francis seems to have been as anxious as any one for his brother's return at the end of his three years.

"Yet by the way, in a word or two, he hath showed his earnest desire to have you return at your time limited by your licence, wishing me to be a persuader thereof, and saying that he marvelled how those that keep

[1] Faunt to A. B., Nov. 20th, 1583. Lamb. MSS. 647.

abroad more than that time could live to their contentment, seeing that himself was more than weary of his being forth, and that the home life is to be thought upon as of the end in due season."—(May 8th, 1582.)

And again (May 6th, 1583)—

"Whensoever we talk but three words together, two and a half of them contain a most hearty wish for your speedy return."

Besides the general disadvantages of expatriation, and the disturbed state of the Continent, which threatened to make Anthony Bacon's stay there dangerous, and the suspicions which might be excited by too much intercourse with Papists, about which his mother was growing extremely anxious, one main objection to his absence was the expense which it entailed, and the difficulty of raising money upon his property in England, which was not large, to defray it. For this it became necessary at last to resort either to sale or mortgage, and the following draft of a deed of attorney for that purpose may be most conveniently introduced here. It is written entirely in Francis Bacon's hand, and requires no further explanation. It bears no date, nor does it contain any allusion which enables me to determine the date positively. I find however that in the beginning of 1584 Anthony Bacon had taken some step by which he seemed "to be resolutely providing for his longer stay abroad." I find also that in April, 1855, Mr. Mantell (Anthony Bacon's steward, who is here spoken of as being "very sick") had been for twelve months past "greatly troubled with diseased legs." If therefore we suppose this draft to have been sent over to him in the spring of 1584, the circumstances will suit, so far as we know them.[1]

A LETTER OF ATTORNEY OR DEED OF AUTHORITY, &c.[2]

BE it known to all men by these presents, that I, Anth. Bakon, of Gorhambury, in the county of Hartford, Esq., have made and constituted my well beloved ( ) my true and lawful Attornies in this behalf, that is to say, to bargain, sell, aliene, and assure, and also to let and demise any my lands, tenements,

[1] There is one circumstance, it is true, which would better suit a later date. It will be seen that, to save his attorneys harmless, it was thought necessary, "in respect of the collateral penalties they might enter into," that he should give them a bond for not less than £3000. Now I find Mantell writing to him on the 25th of May, 1585 (Lambeth MSS. 647), that his charges for five years' residence in France, putting all together, will extend to £2525. 18s., or thereabouts." The two sums agree well; but the agreement is not conclusive, and the paper stands better where it is.

[2] Lamb. MSS. 653. fo. 113. All in Francis Bacon's own hand. No date, signature, address, or seal. Docketed in another, or rather in two other hands, "A Letter of Attorney or Deed of Authority of Mr. Anth. Bacon."

reversions, remainders, leases, rents, and woods, within the realm of England, to such persons, at such prices, and with such warranties, covenants, reservations, limitations, conditions, and bonds collateral as they shall think good; as also to levy, receive, employ, and dispose all such sums of money as shall come to their hands upon such bargains, alienations, demises, or any the means aforesaid, unto my use at their liking and discretion, and upon account to me to be thereof made. And to this end I do authorize my said Attorneys, for me and in my name, or in their own name, by virtue of these presents, to make any writing or deed, and the same to seal, deliver, or enrol, to levy and knowledge any fine, to sue or suffer any recovery, to make any livery of seisin, to make or knowledge any bond, recognisance, or statute, as also to take and receive any deed, knowledge, or assurance to mine use, or any sums of money, and thereof to give acquittance, and to ordain any person my attorney for to sue or to be sued, lease or recover, or to execute any act concerning the premises. And also I do authorize my said Attorneys to bring, use, sue forth, and pursue any action, suit, claim, or remedy against or towards any person, which may grow by occasion of any such alienation or any the matters aforesaid, and to do, perform, and execute all acts and things which may be requisite for the alienation or demise of my said lands or other the premises, or for the receiving or employing of the money thereof to grow and be; giving and granting to my said Attorneys my full power and authority by these presents to do and execute all and singular the premises as fully, lawfully, and surely, and in as large and ample manner as I the said Anth. Bacon mought or could have done. And this my authority I will and grant shall continue unto them until my return into the realm of England, and after that, until such time as I shall by my deed and declaration in writing call back the same. And I do further covenant with my said Attorneys by no act to revoke, interrupt, or make void this my authority or any parts thereof until my said return, and then to make good, ratify, and strengthen, by any assurance on their part reasonably to be devised, all and every act which they shall lawfully perform and do by the virtue of this my deed. In witness whereof I have set to my hand and seal: *such a place, such a day and year.*

After our style and computation were best.

Md. You must remember to seal it, for that is of substance; and in that respect your authority sent to my mother, signed and recorded there without seal, was of no effect; for still you must remember that you are not to make such an authority as we should credit (for to that end your word would serve) but for others strangers to deal upon.

Md. If you make more attorneys than two, you shall do well to make it to run to them or any two of them.

Besides, because perhaps notwithstanding all this authority men will be so scrupulous in buying that they will press your attorneys to enter bonds of their own for the warranting your sales and theirs against you and that you shall perfite anything at your return, therefore it is meet you make and seal unto your attorneys a bond for saving them harmless in form following :—

A bond to save yo^r^ Attornies harmless.

NOVERINT universi per præsentes me Anthonium Bacon de Gorhamburie in Com. Hartford Armig., teneri et firmiter obligari (´) in ( ) libris boni et legalis monetæ Angliæ, solvend. seu solvi faciend. eisdem ( ) vel eorum certo atturnat. aut executor. vel administrat. suis; ad quam quidem solutionem bene et fideliter faciend. obligo me, hæred. et executor. meos, firmiter per præsentes sigillo meo sigillat. *such a day and year.*

Md. The sum had need be three thousand pounds in respect of the collateral penalties they may enter into.

The condition followeth :

The condition of this obligation is such, that whereas the above bounden Ant. Bacon hath by his deed bearing date ( ) constituted and made the above-named ( ) his true and lawful Attorneys to sell, let, and demise his lands and other his interests, and to do many other acts as in the same deed more plainly doth appear; Now therefore if the said ( ) his Attorneys, for the better performing and executing of any the acts whereunto they shall be by his said deed enabled and authorized, shall enter into any bonds, statutes, covenants, mortgages, in their own name and right, if then the said Anth. Bacon

shall sufficiently discharge and save harmless the said ( ) from the said bonds or other the premises, and from all actions, suits, and molestations by reason [of] or concerning the same, that then this obligation shall be void and of none effect, or else to stand in full strength.

Your attorneys would be men of some credit, that men may be more content to deal with them upon their security. My brother Nathanaell, I think, were meet, and Mr. Sergeant Puckering. Mr. Barker is altogether from London. Mr. Mills you may think of. Mr. Clerke is dead. Mr. Mantell is very sick. For myself I will afford any care in it; but I had rather be spared. Mr. Fant, if he be not too mean. Mine uncle Kyligrew I think also fit, because he is ever about London, and Henry Maynard or my cousin Kempe. My mother through passion and grief can scant endure to intermeddle in any your business. These I thought to put you in mind of: the choice is yours.

The autumn of this year introduces Francis Bacon upon a new stage, in which he is destined to play hereafter a prominent part, and therefore we will here open a new chapter.

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1584–1586. ÆTAT. 24–26.

1.

THE occasion upon which Bacon commenced what may be called his public life deserves particular notice, as well fitted to feed and stimulate that interest in questions of Church and State which I suppose to have been excited in him by the accidents of his boyhood and encouraged by his residence in France.

In November, 1584, a new Parliament was called, under circumstances of a highly agitating character. The Bull of Excommunication which had been issued against Elizabeth in 1569 having failed to frighten England out of its Protestantism, and the experience of the next twelve years having shown that, so long as she lived, there was little chance of overthrowing the reformed religion by open methods, the hopes of the Catholic world turned thenceforward towards her death; in the event of which (no provision having been made for the succession) Mary of Scotland would have claimed the crown; her claim would have been supported by the Pope, by Spain, by a considerable party in Scotland, and (what was perhaps of still more importance) by the natural right of inheritance; and thereupon would probably have ensued either the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England, or a civil war, or both. Such an apprehension was sufficient of itself to unite all Protestants in emulous devotion to Elizabeth; and this devotion was warmed into enthusiasm by the detection of several secret conspiracies against her life, together with her own magnanimous contempt for personal danger. Upon this point therefore all varieties of Protestant opinion met. Whoever regarded the Reformed Church as God's cause; whoever believed the anointed head to be under God's especial protection; whoever abhorred murder and treachery; whoever feared civil war; whoever valued national independence; whoever felt his blood run warmer at the sight of a woman who in the face of perils so secret and imminent could exhibit all majesty and no fear,—all fell in alike with the popular sentiment of the time, and swelled the flood of loyalty. During

the twelve months immediately preceding, three several plots for the assassination of Elizabeth had been detected; plots undertaken indeed by individuals, but all certainly Popish, and all supposed to be countenanced by the Popish Powers, and to have in view the placing of a Popish queen on the throne. Hereupon a voluntary association had been entered into by subjects of all degrees,[1] the members of which bound themselves to defend the Queen against all her enemies, foreign or domestic; to prosecute to the death any person by whom or *for* whom violence should be offered to her life, and to hold such person for ever incapable of the crown. This was in October, 1584. On the 23rd of November, in the midst of the general fervour and alarm, the Houses met; and Francis Bacon, now in his twenty-fifth year, took his seat for Melcombe, in Dorsetshire.[2] The causes of their meeting were explained by Sir Christopher Hatton, then Vice-Chamberlain, with unprecedented frankness. "His speech," says Fleetwood, Recorder of London, writing to Burghley, "tended to particularities and special actions, and concluded upon the Queen's Highness's safety. *Before this time I never heard in Parliament the like things uttered;* and especially the things contained in the latter speech. They were *magnalia regni*."[3] Of the debates which followed we have no record; but they ended in the sanction of the "association" by Parliament, in the creation of a new tribunal for the trial of conspirators against the Queen's life, and the enactment of new laws, more severe than ever, against priests and Jesuits. With such antecedents therefore, such an entrance, and such a conclusion, we may presume that they were warm, and that the first breath of Bacon's public life was drawn in a very contagious atmosphere of loyalty and anti-popery.

2.

But if the debates on this question were impressive and exciting from the ardour and unanimity of concurrence,—a unanimity which was proved and strengthened rather than disturbed by the single opposition of Dr. Parry, whose vehement protest against the Jesuit Bill was treated as a contempt of the House, and who was himself apprehended and executed not long after for a design to assassinate the Queen,—there were others which must have been not less so from the very opposite cause. Upon a question no less vital than

[1] Burghley to Lord Cobham, Oct. 27th, 1584: Lodge, vol. ii. p. 250.

[2] He had been also returned for Gatton, by the interest of Burghley, to whom, as Master of the Wards, the nomination, during the minority of the one constituent, at that time belonged. Ellis's Letters, 3rd series, iv. p. 52.

[3] Wright's Eliz. ii. 244. Lansd. MSS. 41. fo. 45.

the government of the Church and the proceedings of the bishops, a majority, and apparently a very considerable majority, of the Lower House was in direct opposition to the Queen. And this difference was the more formidable, because it arose out of no accidental or transitory occasion, but had its root in the very nature of Protestantism, and went to the heart and conscience of the nation. If the will of God was not confided exclusively to Pope or priest, but revealed in the Scriptures to all men, it was the duty of all men to seek it there. Those who for that purpose searched and studied the Scriptures must come to their own conclusions. Those conclusions must be binding upon their consciences, not only to hold, but to preach. It was God's cause and work. To tell men to seek, and yet to prescribe limits to what they should find, was to set human authority above the Word,—the very thing against which Protestantism protested. Now the first Reformers, being themselves Protestants in the true sense of the word,—that is to say, dissenters on grounds of conscience from a creed enjoined by authority,—understood this part of the fact, and left room enough within the pale of the establishment for all the varieties of opinion which their own time was likely to breed. Their successors inherited their work, but not their policy. They accepted the creed of the first Protestants, but would have no more protesting. Standing in place of authority, they were for using their power to stop the progress of what they considered to be error, and enforce an outward uniformity of doctrine and discipline. Thus upon the pedestal from which the idol of the Papacy had been cast down the idol of Orthodoxy was set up; and the power of the keys, which had been taken from the Pope as a power not entrusted to human hands, was transferred to a set of commissioners appointed by the Crown, who took upon themselves to suspend or silence or remove from office all ministers who preached what they did not approve. And they made the fatal mistake of exercising this power not merely against incompetent and turbulent fanatics, over whom with opinion on their side they might have prevailed, but against men as learned, as moderate, as earnest, and quite as well qualified to interpret the Scriptures as any of themselves, and who had popular opinion moreover running strongly in their favour. For at this time the proceedings of the Catholics, threatening as they did the overthrow of Church and State both, had naturally made the people more Protestant than ever, and engaged their hearty sympathies in favour of the new reformers, who, with Cartwright and Travers at their head, had come to be known as the Nonconformist party. This party, far from being necessarily in opposition to the Government, were for the present in the same boat, and well dis-

posed, had reasonable liberty of action been allowed them, to be among its most zealous and effectual supporters. Their importance as a party may be understood from the fact that Leicester, the favourite, was content to put himself at their head; that Walsingham, Secretary of State, was known to sympathize with them; that Burghley, Lord Treasurer, though restrained by official caution and reserve, was believed to wish them well; that Grindal, the late Primate, had been for some time out of favour with the Queen for giving too much countenance to some of their opinions; and that they had a large majority in the present House of Commons. Whether this party was to be in alliance with the State or in opposition, was the question now at issue; and to this particular Parliament, more distinctly perhaps than to any other period, must be assigned the determination of it.

I doubt whether there has been a more important crisis in English history, or whether the Queen ever made a greater mistake than in choosing this moment to stop the tide and put herself in direct opposition to this party. She succeeded indeed: she carried her point and stood her ground during her own life; but it was at the expense of creating a division among the Protestant party, which ended in the overthrow of the monarchy itself for a time, and in making the existence of a national English Church, in any true sense of the word national, an impossibility to this day. The Church of England emerged from the storm with the name and legal rights and temporal attractions, but without the moral and spiritual authority, of a national church, to be thenceforward only one of many Protestant sects[1] into which the English people are divided. But so it was to be. Grindal was dead; and Whitgift, known as the uncompromising foe of the Nonconformists, had been advanced to the Primacy, with the avowed purpose of enforcing uniformity by silencing and punish-

[1] To prevent misconceptions I may mention that I use the word "sect" in exactly the same sense in which Paley uses it in the following passage:—"If in deference then to these reasons it be admitted that a legal provision for the clergy, compulsory upon those who contribute to it, is expedient, the real question will be, whether this provision should be confined to one *sect* of Christianity, or extended indifferently to all. Now it should be observed that this question never *can* offer itself where the people are agreed in their religious opinions, and that it never *ought* to arise where a system may be framed of doctrines and worship wide enough to comprehend their disagreement, and which might satisfy all by uniting all in the articles of their common faith, and in a mode of Divine worship that omits every subject of controversy or offence. Where such a comprehension is practicable, the comprehending religion ought to be made the religion of the State." This is exactly what I mean by "a national Church in the true sense of the word national." The rest of Paley's argument proceeds upon the supposition that such a Church is to be despaired of, that "separate congregations and different sects must unavoidably continue in the country," and that the only practicable form of national religion is the establishment by law "of one *sect* in preference to the rest." (Mor. and Pol. Philos. ch. x.)

ing dissentients. The severity of his proceedings was now taken up by the Commons as a national grievance, and the complaints of the people were embodied in a petition to the Queen, the substance of which may be seen in Fuller's Church History[1] (ix. 16. 7), and the entire document, together with the answers, in D'Ewes's Journals, pp. 357–361.

The particulars and progress of the quarrel will be noticed more conveniently a little further on, in connexion with Bacon's tract on Church Controversies. But I thought it better to introduce the subject in this place, because of the great impression which it must have made upon his mind, and some influence which it probably had upon his career. What his judgment was upon the matters in controversy we shall see hereafter. What his prejudices and predispositions were likely to be may be partly inferred from a letter addressed at the time by his mother to Burghley. The opinions of a man of twenty-five are rarely so independent of domestic influences as not to be partly explained by those of his nearest relatives under whose eye he has been brought up. And as I shall have to make frequent mention of Lady Bacon in connexion with her sons' affairs during the next ten years, I may as well take this opportunity to introduce her in person.

During the Christmas recess a conference had taken place at Lambeth between the Bishops and the Nonconformists—or Preachers, as they were called,—upon the questions raised in the Petition; and it seems that the Bishops were thought to have had much the best of the argument. Lady Bacon, believing that the Preachers had not had fair play, in the abundance of her zeal sought an interview with Burghley to urge their cause, and the next day reinforced her arguments in the following letter:—

"I know well, mine especial good Lord, it becometh me not to be troublesome unto your Honour at any other time, but now chiefly at this season of your greatest affairs and small or no leisure; but yet because yesterday's morning speech,—as, in that I was extraordinarily admitted, it was your Lordship's favour,—so, fearing to stay too long, I could not so plainly speak, nor so well perceive your answer thereto as I would truly and gladly in that matter,—I am bold by this writing to enlarge the same more plainly and to what end I did mean.

"If it may like your good Lordship, the report of the late conference at Lambeth hath been so handled to the discrediting of those learned that labour for right reformation in the ministry of the Gospel, that it is no small grief of mind to the faithful preachers, because the matter is thus by the other side carried away as though their cause could not sufficiently be

[1] Misplaced under the year 1587.

warranted by the Word of God: for the which proof they have long been sad suitors, and would most humbly crave still, both of God in heaven, whose cause it is, and of her Majesty their most excellent sovereign here on earth, that they might obtain quiet and convenient audience either before her Majesty herself, whose heart is in God his hand to touch and to turn, or before your Honours of the Council, whose wisdom they greatly reverence; and if they cannot strongly prove before you out [of] the Word of God, that reformation which they so long have called and cried for to be according to Christ his own ordinance, then to let them be rejected with shame out of the Church for ever. And that this may be the better done to the glory of God and the true understanding of this great cause, they require first leave to assemble and to consult together purposely, which they have forborne to do, for avoiding suspicion of private conventicles. For hitherto, though in some writing they have declared the state of their, yea God his cause, yet were they never allowed to confer together, and so together be heard fully; but now some one, and then some two, called upon a sudden unprepared to forepreparedto catch them, rather than gravely and moderately to be heard to defend their right and good cause. And therefore for such weighty conference they appeal to her Majesty and her honourable wise Council, whom God hath placed in highest authority for the advancement of his kingdom; and refuse the bishops for judges, who are parties partial in their own defence, because they seek more worldly ambition than the glory of Christ Jesus.

"For mine own part, my good Lord, I will not deny, but as I may hear them in their public exercises as a chief duty commanded by God to widows, and also I confess as one that hath found mercy, that I have profited more in the inward feeling knowledge of God his holy will, though but in a small measure, by such sincere and sound opening of the Scriptures by an ordinary preaching within these seven or eight years, than I did by hearing odd sermons at Paul's wellnigh twenty years together. I mention this unfeignedly the rather to excuse this my boldness towards your Lordship, humbly beseeching your Lordship to think upon their suit, and as God shall move your understanding heart to further it. And if opportunity will not be had as they require, yet I once again in humble wise am a suitor unto your Lordship that you would be so good as to choose two or three of them, which it likes best, and licence them before your own self, or other at your pleasure, to declare and to prove the truth of the cause, with a quiet and an attentive ear. I have heard them say or now, that they will not come to dispute and argue to breed contention, which is the manner of the bishops' hearing, but to be suffered patiently to lay down before them that shall command (they excepted), how well and certainly they can warrant by the infallible touchstone of the Word the substantial and main ground of their cause. Surely, my Lord, I am persuaded you should do God acceptable service herein. And for the very entire affection I owe and do bear unto your Honour, I wish from the very heart that to your other rare gifts sundry-wise, you were fully instructed and satisfied in this principal matter, so contemned of the great Rabbis,

to the dishonouring of the Gospel so long amongst us. I am so much bound to your Lordship for your comfortable dealing towards me and mine, as I do incessantly desire that by your Lordship's means God his glory may more and more be promoted, the grieved godly comforted, and you and yours abundantly blessed. None is privy to this. And indeed, though I hear them, yet I see them very seldom.

"I trust your Lordship will accept in best part my best meaning.

"In the Lord, dutifully and most heartily,

"A. BACON."[1]

The day before this letter was written, the House of Commons had received the answer of the Bishops to their petition, and the Nonconformists had learned that they must either abandon their cause, or work it against the Government by the help of popular sympathy and alliance.

3.

It is not probable that Bacon took any conspicuous or active part in any of these proceedings. Indeed his name occurs only twice in any records of this session that I have met with. He is mentioned in D'Ewes's Journals as one of the Committees[2] to whom a bill "for redress of disorders in Common Informers" was referred on the 9th of December, 1584. And from some short notes of speeches made during this Parliament, in the hand I believe of Recorder Fleetwood, it appears that at a later period of the session he made a speech. It was upon some clause in "a bill against fraudulent means used to defeat wardships, liveries, and premier seisins," which had been introduced in the House of Lords, was referred to a Committee of the House of Commons on the 12th of March, 1584-5, and after a good deal of discussion, conference, and alteration, was at last rejected. Of the character of the bill we know nothing, and the sorry memorandum which remains of Bacon's speech deserves preserving only as evidence that his reputation did not come into the world full-grown. It is but a careless note, made for the writer's own memory or amusement; and his own impatient comments are mixed up in it with what are meant for fragments of the speech. I give it as it stands, only distinguishing the comments by italics.

"*Bacon.* Many rather mislike of jealousy, and are timorous of that they conceive not.

"I will open plainly to you that this Bill is hard in some points.

"*If he had as substantially answered it as he confessed it plainly.*

[1] Lansd. MSS. 43. fo. 118, original: own hand.

[2] This is the form and the spelling always adopted by D'Ewes; to be pronounced, I suppose, Committées. What we should call "a member of the Committee," he calls "one of the Committées."

"*Speaking of the Queen:* worthy to be respected, for his father had received by her ability to leave a fifth son to live upon: but that is nothing to the matter. *Then you should have let it alone.*"[1]

So ends the memorandum, and whether this was all that Mr. Recorder Fleetwood found worth noting in what Bacon said upon the occasion, or whether as the speech proceeded he left off noting and began to listen, must be left to conjecture.

4.

About the time of this Parliament, a letter of advice was addressed to the Queen, which, had it never been attributed to any other hand, I should have thought it right to print here, as being possibly and not improbably an early composition of Bacon's. And since I am fully persuaded that it was *not* the composition of the writer to whom it has been attributed, the reasons which would otherwise have led me to print it remain unaffected by the fact; except in so far as a longer story must be told in explanation.

The external evidence which connects the paper in question with Bacon may be thus stated.

In a list of "unpublished works of the L. Bacon," sent by Tenison to Sancroft,[2] on the 18th of December, 1682, I found the following title:—"*Advice to K. James how to prevent recusants from growing either desperate or formidable.*" In the catalogue of the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, vol. iii. No. 6867, I found the following:—"*Counsel concerning behaviour to the Roman Catholics, addressed to the King.*" Upon referring to the manuscript thus described, I found that it answered precisely to the title given in Tenison's list, except in one point; and in that point—namely, that it was addressed to Queen Elizabeth and not to King James—it answered no better to the description in the catalogue. There being nothing however on the face of the manuscript to decide what "sovereign" or whose "majesty" it was addressed to, it was easy to conceive that two different catalogue-makers might have fallen into the same mistake. And I have in fact no doubt that this Harleian MS. is the same (or a copy of the same) paper which was indicated in Tenison's list. Now on questions regarding the authenticity of writings imputed to Bacon, Tenison, though not an absolute authority, is one of the best we have; and if the case ended here, there would be good ground for admitting this among his putative works.

It happens however that this same tract had been previously as-

[1] Lansd. MSS. 43. fo. 175.

[2] Bodleian Library: Tanner MSS., vol. xxxv. p. 252.

cribed in print (though upon what ground or upon whose authority nobody knows) to another hand; and popular opinion in such a matter is generally carried by the first claim. In the year 1651 a small 12mo volume appeared, with the following title:—"*The Felicity of Queen Elizabeth and her times, with other things, by the Right Honourable Francis Lord Bacon, Viscount St. Alban;*" printed by T. Newcomb for George Latham; and containing among some other short pieces, *all either by Bacon or immediately relating to him*,[1] one entitled "*The Lord Treasurer Burleigh, his advice to Queen Elizabeth in matters of Religion and State;*" which is this same tract, only printed incorrectly from an incorrect manuscript. It has been since reprinted in Somers's Collection (with some additional errors, arising apparently from the editor's endeavours to make sense of some corrupt passages), and has been quoted and referred to by our best writers as a work of Burghley's. But I am not aware that the question of the authorship has ever been examined, and I conceive that it has been given to Burghley on the sole evidence of that anonymous volume, the publisher of which says not a word in his preface as to the character or condition of the manuscripts from which he made his book, or how he came by them.

Now I need hardly say that on a question of authorship, the evidence of a book printed nearly seventy years after, of the contents of which no account is given, and for which no editor makes himself responsible,—especially if the name of the imputed author be one which will help to advertise the book,—is worth nothing. Setting this evidence aside therefore, I have taken some pains to ascertain whether this tract was ever ascribed to Burghley in his own time, or near it. But I find no such thing. This Harleian MS. (which is probably either the original transcript or a contemporary copy) is anonymous. The well-known collector Ralph Starkey, whose authority upon such a point would have been of some value, had a copy of it, but did not know whom it was by: for in a list in his own handwriting of MSS. in his possession (Harl. MSS. 537, 84), I find the following entry:—"A discourse written by —— unto Queen

[1] The contents are—
1. The Felicity of Queen Elizabeth (an English translation of Bacon's Latin tract).
2. The Apology of Francis Bacon in certain imputations concerning the late Earl of Essex.
3. A Letter of the Lord Bacon's to Prince Charles (the letter accompanying the History of Henry VII.).
4. The present tract.
5. Some Verses addressed to Lord Bacon, then falling from favour.
6. A Letter to Bishop Andrews (the letter accompanying the Dialogue on a Holy War).
7. Some Latin Verses on Lord Bacon's death.

Elizabeth, advising her Majesty to hold a more strict course against the Papists of England; yet to frame the oath of allegiance to a more milder sort, and to oppose herself to the King of Spain. An° ——;" which is an exact description of its contents. And in Harl. MSS. 35, 412, I find a copy of the tract itself in Ralph Starkey's hand, with the same title, and still without any name. It is true that I have seen many other copies, in which it is attributed to Burghley; but they are all of much later date, and some of them bear evidence on their very face that the name had been assigned upon vague conjecture by some one quite ignorant of the matter. For instance, there is a copy in the Cambridge University Library (L. l. iii. 10), and another in the Inner Temple, headed, "An excellent treatise against Jesuits and Recusants, written by the Earl of Salisbury, *or rather the Lord Treasurer Burghley*, to Queen Elizabeth." And there is one in the Lansdowne collection (213, 1) in which it is described as "an excellent treatise against Papists, by Burghley, *afterwards Earl of Salisbury*." I suppose the fact was that in the later days of Charles I., when popular rage ran strong against priests and Jesuits, this paper was hunted out and circulated widely in manuscript; and being evidently the advice of a statesman to Queen Elizabeth, was set down, to give it the greater authority, as the production of her most famous councillor;—only the difference between the father and the son having worn out of memory, some confusion was made between Burghley and Salisbury. The evidence of these manuscripts therefore, as well as that of the editor, whoever he was, of the printed volume of 1651, of the editor of Somers's Tracts, and of all subsequent writers who have quoted the paper as Burghley's, (there being no reason to suppose that any of them had any other or better ground than one of the said MSS. to go upon,) I reject as worth literally nothing.

External evidence therefore for ascribing the tract to Burghley, there is in my judgment none at all; and when I turn to consider the internal evidence, I find it impossible to believe that he had anything to do with it. It is evidently the production of some young unauthorized adviser, who feels it necessary to offer an apology for volunteering his advice; whereas Burghley had now been for more than twenty-five years the Queen's principal minister and adviser, and must have been consulted over and over again upon the questions to which this paper refers. Moreover many of Burghley's memorials of advice have been preserved, and they have no resemblance to this in form, style, method, or character.

Now if Burghley's claim be set aside, Bacon's may seem (on the strength of Tenison's list and of the fact that this paper had somehow got mixed up with his writings—a fact to which the contents of the

volume of 1651 equally bear witness) to stand next. And though I am far from thinking the evidence conclusive, yet I do think it sufficient to justify the insertion of the paper here as being *possibly and not improbably* his composition. Certainly the tone and manner of it suits his relation to the Queen perfectly well; and we know that, not many years after, she used to encourage him to deliver his mind on such matters.[1] The opinions also are in all respects such as might have been expected from him, and the style, though it has some small peculiarities that strike me as alien,[2] is in its larger and more general features very like his; so much so indeed that when I first met with it as an anonymous paper (having at that time no reason for supposing it to be in any way connected with him), I was so struck with the resemblance that I took a copy of it on speculation, thinking that it might probably turn out to be his. But these are points upon which it is fit the reader should judge for himself. If Bacon was really the author of it, it is one of the most interesting of his occasional writings; if not, it will at least contribute to the secondary object of this work, which is to present a picture of the time as seen by those who lived in it. Besides, the paper is valuable enough, whoever were the author, to be worth printing correctly; which it has not been either in Somers or in the volume of 1651.[3]

The manuscript from which I have taken it (Harl. 6867, 42) has no title, address, date, docket, or other explanation. It is fairly written, on bad paper of the quarto size, in the hand (I should think) of a copyist or secretary, and looks like an original paper rather than a collector's copy. But, though not quite accurate, it shows no traces of correction. It may be described as a letter of advice to Queen Elizabeth touching the course to be taken for protection against her enemies at home and abroad; and was probably written about the end of 1584,—certainly before the death of Pope Gregory XIII., which took place on the 10th of April, 1585.

[1] "Thus have I played the ignorant statesman; which I do to nobody but your Lordship, *except I do it to the Queen sometimes, when she trains me on.*"—Letter to Essex, 1598.

[2] It is not to be forgotten however that it was written earlier by four or five years than any formal composition of his that has come down to us, and therefore it would naturally exhibit some peculiarities of manner not to be found in his other writings. All young writers begin by affecting the approved style of the day; as they find their own strength, they mould their own style.

[3] It may be worth while to add that this is not the only one of Bacon's writings (if Bacon's it be) which has been attributed to Burghley. Strype (Annals of the Reformation, vol. vi. p. 49), having occasion to quote an anonymous manuscript which he found in the Cotton Library, entitled "Proceedings between England and Spain," says he "verily believes it was of the Lord Burleigh's own composing." It is in fact a portion of Bacon's 'Observations on a Libel,' printed by Rawley in the 'Resuscitatio;' and one of the best-known of his occasional works. Had it not been so, how natural for any one possessing a copy of the paper to write "By Lord Burghley" on the titlepage, and for any publisher to print it!

To the Queen.

Most Gracious Sovereign
and most worthy to be a Sovereign.

Care, one of the natural and true-bred children of unfeigned affection, awaked with these late wicked and barbarous attempts, would needs exercise my pen to your sacred Majesty, encouraging me not only therewith that it would take the whole faults of boldness upon itself, but also that even the words should not doubt to appear in your Highness's presence in their kindly rudeness, for that if your Majesty with your voice did vouchsafe to read them, that very reading would give them the grace of eloquence.

Therefore laying aside all self-guilty conceits of ignorance (knowing that the sun is not angry with the well-meaning astronomers though they hap to miss his course), I will with the same sincerity display my humble conceits, wherewith my life shall be among the foremost to defend the blessing[1] which God in you hath bestowed upon us.

As far then (dread Sovereign) as I may judge, the happiness of your present estate can no way be encumbered but by your strong factious subjects and your foreign enemies. Your strong factious subjects be the Papists: strong I account them, because both in number they are (at the least) able to make a great army, and by their mutual confidence and intelligence may soon bring to pass an uniting: factious I call them, because they are discontented;—of whom in all reason of state your Majesty must determine, if you suffer them to be strong, to make them better content, or if you will discontent them, to make them weaker: for what the mixture of strength and discontentment engender, needs no syllogisms to prove.

To suffer them to be strong, with hope that with reason they will be contented, carries with it in my opinion but a fair enamelling of a terrible danger.

For first, man's nature being not only to strive against a present smart but to revenge a passed injury, though they be never so well contented hereafter, what can be a sufficient pledge to your Majesty but that, when opportunity shall flatter them, they will remember not the after-slacking but the former binding? so

[1] *blesse* in MS.

much the more as they will imagine this relenting rather to proceed from fear than favour; which is the poison of all government, when the subject thinks the prince doth anything for fear. And therefore the Romans would rather abide the uttermost extremities than by their subjects to be brought to any conditions.

Again, to make them contented absolutely, I do not see how your Majesty either in conscience will do it or in policy may do it, since you cannot throughly content them but that you must of necessity throughly discontent your faithful subjects: and to fasten a reconciled love with the loosing of a certain, is to build houses with the sale of lands. So much the more in that your Majesty is embarked into the Protestant cause, as in many respects by your Majesty it cannot with any safety be abandoned, they having been so long the only instruments both of your counsel and power.

To make them half-content, half-discontent, methinks carries with it as deceitful a shadow of reason, since there is no pain so small but if we can we will cast it off; and no man loves one the better for giving him a bastinado with a little cudgel.

But the course of the most wise, most politic, and best governed estates hath ever been either to make an assuredness of friendship or to take away all power of enmity.

Yet here must I distinguish between discontentment and despair: for it sufficeth to weaken the discontented; but there is no way but to kill the desperate, which in such a number as they are, were as hard and difficult as impious and ungodly.

And therefore though they must be discontented, yet I would not have them desperate: for among many desperate men, it is like some one will bring forth a desperate attempt.

Therefore considering that the urging of the oath must needs in some degree beget despair, since therein he must either think as without the especial grace of God he cannot think, or else become a traitor (which before some act done seems somewhat hard), I humbly submit this to your excellent consideration, whether, with as much security of your Majesty's person and state, and more satisfaction of them, it were not better to frame the oath to this sense: that whosoever would not bear arms against all foreign princes, and namely the Pope, that should any way invade your Majesty's dominions, he should be a traitor.

For hereof this commodity would ensue; that those Papists

(as I think most Papists would) that did take this oath, should be divided from that great mutual confidence which now is betwixt the Pope and them, by reason of their affliction for him. And such priests as would refuse that oath, no tongue could say for shame did suffer for religion.

And whereas it may be objected that they would dissemble, so might they then dissemble in the present oath; or that the Pope would then dispense with them in that case, and so might he now likewise dispense with them in this present oath.[1]

But this is certain, that whom the conscience or fear of breaking of an oath doth bind, him would that oath bind.

And that they make conscience of an oath, the troubles, losses, and disgraces that they suffer for refusing the same do sufficiently testify; and you know the perjury of either oath is equal.

So then the furthest point to be sought of their contentment being but to avoid their despair, how to weaken their discontentment is the next consideration.

Weakened they may be by two means, the first whereof is by lessening their number, the second by taking away from them their force.

Their number will easily be lessened by the means of careful and diligent preachers in each parish to that end appointed, and especially by good schoolmasters and bringers up of their youth; the former by converting them after their fall, the later by preventing the same.

For preachers, because thereon grows a great question, I am provoked to lay at your Highness' feet my opinion touching the preciser sort; first protesting to God Almighty and your sacred Majesty that I am not given over, no nor so much as addicted, to their preciseness; therefore till I think that you think otherwise, I am bold to think that the bishops in this dangerous time take a very evil and unadvised course in driving them from their cures; and that for two causes.

First because it doth discredit the reputation and estimation of your power, when other princes shall perceive and know, that even in your Protestant subjects, in whom all your force and strength

[1] In the printed copy (1651) this paragraph stands as follows:—"But here it may be objected, they would dissemble and equivocate with this oath, and that the oath (*sic*) would dispense with them in that case. Even so may they with the present oath both dissemble and equivocate, and so have the Pope's dispensation for the present oath as well as for the other."

and power consisteth, there is so great and heart-burning a division;—and how much reputation swayeth in these and all other worldly actions there is nobody so simple as to be ignorant; and the Papists themselves, though there be most manifest and apparent discords and dissensions between the Franciscans and the Dominicans, the Jesuits and all other orders of religious persons, especially the Benedictines, yet will they shake off neither, because in the main points of Popery they agree and hold together, and so may they freely brag and vaunt them of their unity.

The other reason is, because in truth, in their opinions though they are somewhat over-squeamish and nice, and more scrupulous than they need, yet with their careful catechizing and diligent preaching they bring forth that fruit which your most excellent Majesty is to wish and desire; namely, the lessening and diminishing of the Papistical number.

And therefore in this time your gracious Majesty hath especial cause to use and employ them, if it were but as Frederick II., that excellent Emperor, did use and employ Saracen soldiers against the Pope, because he was well assured and certainly knew that they only would not spare his Sanctity.

And for those objections, what they would do when they gat once a full and entire authority in the Church, methinks [they] are *inter remota et incerta mala,* and therefore *vicina et certa* to be first considered.

As for schoolmasters (the lamentable and pitiful abuses of whom are easy to be seen, since the greatest number of Papists is of very young men), your Majesty may use therein not only a pious and godly mean in making the parents of each shire to send their children to be virtuously and religiously brought up at a certain place for that end appointed; but you shall also, if it please your Majesty, put in practice a notable stratagem used by Sertorius in Spain, which coming to my mind I am bold to present to your Majesty, by choosing such fit and convenient places for the same as may surely be at your devotion; and by this means you shall, under colour of education, have them as hostages of all the parents' fidelity that have any power in England.

And by these ways will their number be lessened: for no way do I account death to lessen or diminish them: since we find by experience that death works no such effects, but that, like Hydra's heads, upon one cut off, seven grow up; persecution

being ever accounted as the badge of the Church; and therefore they should never have the honour to take any pretence of martyrdom, especially in England, where the fullness of blood and greatness of heart is such that they will even for shameful things go bravely to death, much more when they think they climb heaven; and that vice of obstinacy, *proximitate boni*, seems to the common people a divine constancy.

But for my part, I wish no lessening of their number but by preaching.

The taking away of their force is as well of peace authority as of war provision.

Their peace authority standeth either in Offices or Tenantries.

For their Offices, their credit will soon quail if order be taken that from the highest counsellor to the lowest constable, none have any charge but such as will pray and communicate according to the doctrine received generally in the realm.

For their Tenantries, this conceit I have thought upon, which I submit to your far further piercing judgment, that your Majesty in every shire should give strict order to some that are indeed trusty and religious gentlemen, that whereas your Majesty are given to understand that divers Popish landlords do hardly use all such of your people and subjects as being their tenants do embrace and live after the authorized and true religion; that therefore you do constitute and appoint them to deal both with entreaty and authority, that paying as others do, they be not thrust out of their livings nor otherwise unreasonably molested.

This care will greatly bind the Commons' hearts unto you, on whom indeed the power and strength of your realm of England consisteth, and it will make them much the less or nothing at all depend upon their landlords.

And although thereby may grow some wrong that the tenants upon that confidence may offer unto their landlords, yet those wrongs are very easily even with one wink of yours redressed, and are nothing comparable to the danger of having so many thousands depend upon the adverse party.

Their war provision I account men and munition; of whom, in sum, I would wish that no one man, either great or small, should so much as be trained up in your musters, except his parishioners would answer for him that he orderly and duly received the Communion; and for munition, not one should have

or keep in his house so much as a halbert without the same condition.

And then your Majesty may set your heart at rest, that one thousand of your Protestant subjects will make ten thousand, yea twenty thousand, of them, untrained and unfurnished, to do such services, even against themselves, as you shall appoint. Yet should they contribute as much; nay, if such order were taken that, considering they should not be put to the pain of mustering and training, that therefore their contribution should be more narrowly looked into, it would breed a chilliness unto their fervour of superstition; especially in popular resolutions, who if they love Egypt, it is chiefly for the fleshpot. So that methinks this temper should well agree with your wisdom and the mercifulness of your nature.

For, as compel them you would not, kill them you would not, so in reason trust them you would not; trust being in no case to be claimed but where the trusted is of one mind with the trusting; reason ever commanding every wise man to fly and avoid that evil shamefacedness which the Greeks call δυσωπία, which is, not to seem to doubt them who give just occasion of doubt.

That ruined Hercules, son to the great Alexander: for although he had most manifest reasons and evident arguments to induce him to suspect his old servant Polyperchon, yet out of the confidence he had of him and the experience he had had of his former loyalty, he would not make provision accordingly, because he would not seem so much as to misdoubt or suspect him, and so by that means he was murthered by him.

But this [is] the knot of this discourse, that if your Majesty find it reasonable, of the one side by relenting the rigour of the oath, and of the other by disabling the unsound, you shall neither execute any but very traitors in all men's constructions and opinions, nor yet put faith and confidence in those that even for their own sakes must be faithful.

The second point remains; which is of your foreign enemies.

Your foreign enemies able and willing to hurt you, I account Scotland for his pretence and neighbourhood, and Spain for his religion and power. For as for France, I see not why it should not rather be made a friend than an enemy. For though he agree not with your Majesty in matter of conscience and reli-

gion, yet *in hoc tertio* he doth agree, that he fears the greatness of Spain; and therefore that may solder the link which religion hath broken, and make him hope by your Majesty's friendship to secure himself of so potent an adversary.

And though he were evil affected towards your Majesty, yet I do not think it greatly to be feared, considering the present condition of his estate; himself being a prince who hath paid very dear assurances to the world that he loves his ease much better than victories; and a prince that is not beloved nor feared of his people; and the people themselves being of a very light and inconstant disposition, and besides altogether unexperienced and undisciplined how to do their duties either in war or peace; beginning or ready to begin and undertake any enterprise before they enter into an advised and deliberate consideration thereof, and yet weary of it before it be fully begun; generally poor and weak, and subject to sickness at sea; divided and subdivided into sundry heads and several factions, not only between Huguenots and Papists, but between the Memorianciers,[1] Guiscardes, and Mignonins; the people oppressed by all and hating all:—so as truly in my opinion, for a well settled and established government and commonwealth, as is your Majesty's, why to misdoubt or fear them I see not; but only so far forth as the Guiscards may hap to serve for *boute-feux* in Scotland: and while it shall please your Majesty but with reasonable favour to support the King of Navarre, I do not think the French King will suffer you to be from thence annoyed.

Therefore for France, your Majesty may assure yourself of one of these two, either to make with him a good alliance in respect of the common enemy of both kingdoms, or at the least so to muzzle him, as that he shall have little power to bite you.

As for Scotland, if your Majesty help those noblemen that are suspected by him from perishing, your Majesty may be sure of this; that while he is a Protestant no foreign prince will throughly help him; and of himself you know he is not able much to harm or annoy you; and if in time he should grow to be a Papist, your Majesty shall always have a strong party at his own doors in his own kingdom to bridle and restrain his malice, who, since they do depend upon your Majesty, are in all policy by the same never to be abandoned.

[1] So MS. Montmorencians, I presume.

For by that resolution the Romans anciently, and the Spaniards presently, have most of all prevailed; and on the contrary side, the Macedonians in times past, and the French in our age, have lost all without themselves, because of their aptness to neglect them who of them only depended.

But if your Majesty could by any means possible devise to bring in again the Hambletons, he should then be stricken with his own weapon, and should have daily more cause to look to his own succession.[1]

But Spain, Spain it is, in which, as I conceive, all causes do concur to give a just alarum to your excellent judgment.

First, because in religion he is so much the Pope's, and the Pope in policy so much his, as what the mind of Pope Gregory[2] and the power of King Philip will or can compass or bring forth, is in all probability to be expected; himself being a prince whose closet hath brought forth greater victories than all his father's journeys, absolutely ruling his subjects, a people one-hearted in religion, constantly ambitious, politic, and valiant; the King rich and liberal, and, which of all I like worst, beloved amongst all the discontented party of your subjects.

A more lively proof whereof one could never see, than in the poor Don Anthonio's being here, who though he were as mass-hungry a man as any liveth, yet did there not one Papist in England give him any good countenance, so factious affection is borne to the other party.

Of him therefore, as the chief cause of doubt is, so must the chief care be had of providence.

But this offers a great question, to wit, *Whether it be better to procure his amity or stop the course of his enmity?* as of a mighty lion, whether it be more wisdom to trust to the taming or tying of him.

I confess this requires a longer and larger discourse, and a better discourser than myself, and therefore I will stay myself from running over so large a field, but only with the natural presumption of love yield this to your gracious consideration.

[1] "If God should call him [the young king],... Hamilton upon his death should succeed."—Earl of Sussex to Cecil, 22nd Oct., 1568: Lodge, i. 458.

"May, 1584. The lords of Scotland, Lord John Hamilton, Earl of Angus, Earl of Marr, fled into England." "Sept. 1585. The banished lords of Scotland, Earls Argyle and Marr, with the Lord of Glames remain still in London."—Burghley's Diary.

[2] Gregory XIII. died 10th April, 1585.

First, if you have an intention of league, you see upon what assurance, or at least likelihood, you may trust that he will observe the same.

Secondly, that in the parling season it be not as a countenance unto him the sooner to overthrow the Low Countries, which hitherto have been as a counterscarfe to your Majesty's kingdom.

But if you do not league, then your Majesty is to think of means for strengthening yourself and weakening him.

Your own strength is to be tendered both at home and abroad.

For your home-strength, with all reverence I leave it, as the thing which contains in effect the universal consideration of government.

For your strength abroad, it must be by joining in good confederacy, or at least intelligence, with those that would willingly embrace the same.

Truly not so much as the Turk and the Moroccan but at a time may serve your Majesty to great purpose. But of Florence, Ferrara, and especially Venice, I think your Majesty might reap great service: for undoubtedly they fear and abhor the King of Spain's greatness.

And for these Dutch and northern princes, being in effect of your Majesty's religion, I cannot think but that their alliance may be firm, and their power not to be contemned; even countenance of united powers doing much in matters of estate.

For the weakening of him, I could (I must confess) from my heart wish that your Majesty did not spare it, throughly and manifestly both upon his Indies and Low Countries, which would give themselves unto you, and rather take him now when he hath one hand[1] bound, than when he shall have both hands free and both sharply weaponed.

But if this seem foolish-hardy to your Majesty's wisdom, yet do I not presume to counsel, but humbly beseech your Majesty, that what stay without war your Majesty can give to the Low Countries, you vouchsafe to do it: since as King of Spain, without the Low Countries, he may trouble our skirts of Ireland, but can never come to grasp with you; but if he once reduce the Low Countries to an absolute subjection, I know not what limits any man of judgment can set unto his greatness.

[1] *man*, MS.

Divers ways are not (*sic*) to be tried: among the rest one, not of the worst in my opinion, might be, to seek either the winning of the Prince of Parma from the King of Spain, or at the least to have it handled so as a jealousy thereof might arise between them; as Pope Clement did by the notable Marquis of Pescara: for he practised with him with offering the kingdom of Naples, not so much with hope to win him, as to make his master suspect him.

For when I consider that he is a Roman of blood, a Prince born, placed in the place he hath by Don John, and maintained in it by the malcontents, whereunto the King hath rather yielded of necessity than was an author: lastly when I remember the citadel of Piacenza kept by the Spaniards, and the apparent title of his son Ranuccio[1] to the Crown of Portugal (things hardly to be digested by an Italian stomach), I cannot see how such a mind in such a fortune can sell itself to a foreign servitude.

The manner of dealing should be by some man of spirit with the Venetian ambassador in Paris, and afterwards with his own father in Italy, both which are in their hearts mortal enemies of the greatness of Spain.

But these sheets of paper bear witness against me of having offered too tedious a discourse to your Majesty; divers of which points yet, as of the mitigating of the oath, the school-hostages, the heartening of tenants, and the dealing with this prince, would require a more ample handling.

But it is first reason to know whether your Majesty like of the stuff, before it be otherwise trimmed.

For myself, as I will then only love my opinions when your Majesty likes them, so will I daily pray that all opinions may be guided with as much faith to your Majesty, and then followed with infinite success.

5.

I see no difficulty in believing that Bacon, at the age of four-and-twenty, may have written such a piece of counsel as this and ventured to submit it to the Queen. He was young, but he was rising in reputation, as we shall see presently by his progress at Gray's Inn and

[1] *Remiccio* in MS. This Ranuccio was great-grandson to Manuel, King of Portugal; being the son of his second son's eldest daughter, and now (after the death of Sebastian, in whom the eldest son's issue failed) heir to the crown.

by the more frequent occurrence of his name in the records of the proceedings of the House of Commons. Besides, the Queen was a great encourager of young aspirants, and had begun to encourage him when he was very young indeed. And it was of great consequence to him at this time to give her some token of his ability in serious business. For all this time, it seems, the suit (whatever it was) which he had made to her through Burghley in 1580 remained in suspense, neither granted nor denied; and the uncertainty prevented him from settling his course of life. From the following letter to Walsingham we may gather two things more concerning it: it was something which had been objected to as unfit for so young a man; and which would in some way have made it unnecessary for him to follow "a course of practice,"—meaning, I presume, ordinary practice at the Bar.

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretary to Her Majesty.[1]

It may please your Honour to give me leave amidst your great and diverse business to put you in remembrance of my poor suit, leaving the time unto your Honour's best opportunity and commodity. I think the objection of my years will wear away with the length of my suit. The very stay doth in this respect concern me, because I am thereby hindered to take a course of practice, which by the leave of God, if her Majesty like not of my suit, I must and will follow: not for any necessity of estate, but for my credit sake, which I know by living out of action will wear. I spake when the Court was at Theball's to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,[2] who promised me his furderance; which I did lest he mought be made for some other. If it may please your Honour, who as I hear hath great interest in him, to speak with him in it, I think he will be fast mine. Thus desiring continuance of your Honour's favour, I wish you all good, and myself occasion to do you service. Gray's Inn, this 25th of August, 85.

Your Honour's in all duty,

Fr. Bacon.

6.

This is the last we hear of this suit, the nature and fate of which must both be left to conjecture. With regard to its fate, my own

[1] S. P. O. Domestic, 1585. Original: own hand.

[2] This was Sir Christopher Hatton.

conjecture is that he presently gave up all hope of success in it, and tried instead to obtain through his interest at Court some furtherance in the direct line of his profession. It is certain that about this time or soon after he made another application to Burghley, the precise nature of which we are again left to guess, but which was to facilitate his "coming within bars;" that is, as I suppose (for the meaning of the phrase is doubtful), his admission to practise in the Courts. By the regulations then in force an *utter barrister* had to continue in "exercise of learning" for five years, before he was permitted to plead at any of the Courts at Westminster or to subscribe any plea.[1] Bacon, having been admitted to the Utter Bar on the 27th of June, 1582, had still more than two years to wait; and if, according to the intention intimated in the last letter, he was now ready and resolved "to take a course of practice," he would naturally wish to have his term of probation shortened. In what precise way this was to be done I do not know, but I presume that between Burghley and the Queen means might have been found, and that he now submitted to Burghley some proposition with that view.

We need not assume that his pretensions were really unreasonable or his manners justly offensive, to account for the fact which appears from the next letter, that they had by this time exposed him to some unfriendly criticism, that complaints reached Burghley of his nephew's arrogance, and that Burghley thought it expedient to give him some good advice on the subject. The solid grounds on which Bacon's pretensions rested had not yet been made manifest to the apprehension of Bench and Bar; his mind was full of matters with which they could have no sympathy, and the shy and studious habits which we have seen so offend Mr. Faunt would naturally be misconstrued in the same way by many others. The temper in which Mr. Recorder Fleetwood listened to his maiden speech (p. 42) is but a fair sample of that incredulous disdain with which the English public greets every young aspirant who proclaims himself or is proclaimed by his friends as anything out of the common way. It can hardly be avoided, but speedily disappears if the pretensions be made good; as we shall see that in Bacon's case it very soon did. To any one who would understand his position and follow his career in the world, the little glimpse revealed by the next letter of the feelings with which some of his contemporaries regarded him, now in his twenty-sixth year, will prove very instructive.

[1] See "Orders necessary for the government of the Inns of Court, established by commandment of the Queen's Majesty, etc. etc., in Easter Term, A° Elizabethæ Reginæ 1574." Harl. MSS. 39. f. 272.

To Lord Burghley.[1]

My very good Lord,

I take it as an undoubted sign of your Lordship's favour unto me that being hardly informed of me you took occasion rather of good advice than of evil opinion thereby. And if your Lordship had grounded only upon the said information of theirs, I mought and would truly have upholden that few of the matters were justly objected; as the very circumstances do induce in that they were delivered by men that did misaffect me and besides were to give colour to their own doings. But because your Lordship did mingle therewith both a late motion of mine own and somewhat which you had otherwise heard, I know it to be my duty (and so do I stand affected) rather to prove your Lordship's admonition effectual in my doings hereafter, than causeless by excusing what is past. And yet (with your Lordship's pardon humbly asked) it may please you to remember that I did endeavour to set forth that said motion in such sort as it mought breed no harder effect than a denial. And I protest simply before God that I sought therein an ease in coming within Bars, and not any extraordinary and singular note of favour. And for that your Lordship may otherwise have heard of me, it shall make me more wary and circumspect in carriage of myself. Indeed I find in my simple observation that they which live as it were *in umbrâ* and not in public or frequent action, how moderately and modestly soever they behave themselves, yet *laborant invidiâ*. I find also that such persons as are of nature bashful (as myself is), whereby they want that plausible familiarity which others have, are often mistaken for proud. But once I know well and I most humbly beseech your Lordship to believe, that arrogancy and overweening is so far from my nature, as if I think well of myself in anything it is in this that I am free from that vice. And I hope upon this your Lordship's speech I have entered into those considerations as my behaviour shall no more deliver me for other than I am. And so wishing unto your Lordship all honour and to myself continuance of your good

[1] Lansd. MSS. 51. f. 9: original. A good specimen of Bacon's careful handwriting at this time of his life.

opinion with mind and means to deserve it, I humbly take my leave. Gray's Inn, this 6th day of May, 1586.

Your Lordship's most bounden Nephew,
FR. BACON.

If a speedier progress through Gray's Inn was what this 'late motion' aimed at, it seems to have had some success; for in the following February he was advanced to the Readers' table, though not himself a Reader, in some unusual way. But before that time he had to witness another immense national excitement, and to be a spectator, though happily not an actor, in one of the great tragedies of the world.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1586–1589. ÆTAT. 26–29.

1.

I HAVE spoken of the agitations into which all England was thrown by the conspiracies of 1583 and 1584, and of the expression which it found in Parliament. The violence of the popular storm may be judged of by the tenor of the Act which was then passed, and passed unanimously by both Houses—(the Lower House being at that time not at all remarkable for subserviency, but quite prepared in a popular cause to take courses most distasteful to the Crown)—for the purpose of giving a legal sanction to the voluntary association for the defence of the Queen's life. This Act not only authorized the trial by a new tribunal—(a body of not less than twenty-four Lords and Privy Councillors appointed for the purpose by the Queen, with Judges to assist)—of any pretender to the Crown by whom or *for* whom any attempt should be made against her life; not only empowered a majority of these Commissioners, upon proof that such attempt had been made with the privity of the persons accused, to pass sentence of death upon them: but actually made it lawful, as soon as such sentence had been passed and duly proclaimed, for any of the Queen's subjects "by virtue of this Act and her Majesty's direction in that behalf" to "pursue them to death." So much at least the words of the Act strictly construed seem to imply;[1] and I see no reason to doubt that they truly expressed the deliberate wish and intention of the alarmed and irritated Protestantism of England.

Whatever may be thought of its equity in other respects, the Act had one merit. It was at least a fair warning to all men, with due notice of the consequences, not to engage in any such attempt upon their peril. It had not been in force however for much more than a

[1] 27 Eliz. c. 1. "And that thereupon all her Highness' subjects shall and may lawfully, by virtue of this Act and her Majesty's direction in that behalf, by all forcible and possible means pursue to death every of such wicked persons, by whom or by whose means, assent, or privity, any such invasion or rebellion shall be in form aforesaid denounced to have been made, or such wicked act attempted," etc. The clause may perhaps have been intended to provide against the chance of rescue or escape.

twelvemonth, when the nation was again alarmed by news of a fresh conspiracy, more desperate than any of the former, with the threefold object of assassinating Elizabeth, raising an insurrection in England, and inducing an invasion from abroad. That such a conspiracy was actually on foot, and that to liberate Mary of Scotland and place her on the throne was the main and express end of it,—therefore that it was in that sense an attempt on Elizabeth's life made *for* her,—did not admit of a doubt. Whether she knew of it or was otherwise accessary, is a question upon which modern historians, knowing some things which nobody knew then and ignorant probably of many things which everybody knew then, may reasonably differ. But the unanimous verdict of forty noblemen and privy councillors, duly appointed under the late Act to try the case, would no doubt be accepted by that generation as decisive. Before this verdict had been pronounced, and while the history of the whole plot, fully confirmed by the confession of the parties, was yet fresh news in the land, a new Parliament had been summoned. The general election and the trial of Mary before the Commissioners must have been going on at the same time; and on the 29th of October, 1586, only four days after their sentence had been declared, the Houses met. The case was at once laid before them, was eagerly taken up, vehemently debated (though the speakers seem to have been all on one side), and concluded by a unanimous confirmation of the sentence, accompanied by addresses to the Queen from both Houses, earnestly praying for the publication and speedy execution of it. And though it must be owned that their language and arguments, when looked back upon out of the security of settled times, seem to savour more of fear and fury than of judgment and deliberation, yet perhaps if a man could really understand the case,—if he could carry his imagination back into the time, so as truly to conceive the beliefs, the hopes, the fears, which then ruled in men's minds,—the vast interests at stake, the solid grounds of alarm, the universal conviction of Mary's acquiescence in the whole plot,—he would think that this Parliament was not more extravagant in its humour than Parliaments are apt to be in seasons of popular excitement even now, and that the practical conclusion to which it came admits of a fair defence. Certainly, if we might but assume that the trial before the Commissioners was fairly conducted and the verdict just (which I have no doubt everybody believed then), the *vote* might be justified. The outrageous clauses of the statute under which Mary was tried were not in question; she had been found guilty of being an accessary to the projected assassination; and whatever had seemed to justify her detention in captivity must have seemed much more to justify her trial and execution for such an act, especially after such a warning.

In this Parliament, Bacon sat for Taunton in Somersetshire. His name is mentioned by D'Ewes (4th November) as one of the speakers on "the Great Cause;" also as one of the committees to whom it was referred, and who were continually occupied with it until the 2nd of December; on which day the House was adjourned. But of what he said, or the part he took (more than that he spoke on the popular side), no record remains; nor is there any allusion in any of his writings, that I know of, from which his opinion upon this case can be inferred. Upon a case so rare, and so full of matter to strike the imagination, to touch the feelings, and to exercise the judgment, he must doubtless have had many thoughts; but whatever the conclusion, they can hardly have been other than painful; painful for the conflict of feelings involved in the case itself, more painful for the reflexion it cast upon the character of Elizabeth; whose conduct after the passing and confirmation of the sentence,—showing as it did a disposition not only to evade herself, but to shift upon others, the responsibility of that which was to be done,—could not even to the most favourable interpreter but seem unworthy of her. I say a *disposition*, not a determination: because those inconsistencies in her conduct at this juncture which are commonly imputed to cold-blooded hypocrisy and deliberate double-dealing, may in my opinion be more probably explained as the result of a real struggle between strength of will and irresolution of judgment. I believe that she was really perplexed in her mind, and did not know what to do; and as she never troubled herself to conceal from her *councillors* those hesitations and variations of purpose which almost always preceded her final determinations, I conceive that many of the speeches upon which the charge of hypocrisy most rests, were in fact the expression of thoughts half made up, —conclusions which were still in the balance, which she had not decided to act upon, and did not intend her councillors to adopt as directions. They on their part had a difficult task to perform. Not liking to ask for more distinct resolutions on a subject on which the very difficulty of resolving made her irritable, they had to *guess* what hints they were meant to act upon without further orders, and what not; in which it was easy for them to make mistakes, especially having a strong bias of their own in favour of the shortest way. Some such misunderstanding might account for that doubtful message on the strength of which the warrant against Mary was at last executed; which Elizabeth disavowed; and for delivering which Davison was prosecuted in the Star Chamber and ruined. Such may also be the true explanation of a blacker transaction; I mean the joint letter addressed to Sir Amias Paulet by Walsingham and Davison (see Hearne, Rob. of Glouc. p. 673) signifying the Queen's surprise, apparent by "speech

lately uttered," that none of her loyal subjects should have found a way to relieve her from her embarrassment, namely by pursuing Mary to death (for the words can bear no other meaning), as their oaths bound and the statute warranted them to do. That such a solution of the question would have been *convenient* to Elizabeth, was true; that in the agitations of irresolution such a thought should present itself to her mind, was natural; that in talking with her confidential councillors it found its way to her tongue, is not improbable; that her councillors, not daring on so delicate and dangerous a subject to ask more directly what she meant, should seek to shift the difficulty from themselves by passing the hint on to those who were about Mary's person, may be easily supposed. But that she really intended them to do so, is to me, considering her character and ways, less easy to believe, than that *they thought* she did and were mistaken. When all is said however, her behaviour throughout the business, read it as favourably as we may, was not such as any loyal subject could have thought upon without regret. It showed the worse, too, by contrast with that of her victim. Mary, whatever else was in her, possessed in full measure all those qualities which have so often turned the scaffold into a scene of public triumph, in which the memory of the sufferer is cleared from all its stains, and every harsher thought is lost for ever in reverence and pity. It was on the 7th of February, 1586-7, that she received notice to prepare to die the next morning. It seems she did not need even that short notice. She was ready on the instant to meet death with a composure and a dignity such as neither martyr nor philosopher ever surpassed. Even the dry official report of the day's proceedings, made by the Commissioners to the Council, reads, in spite of its formal phraseology and impassive tone, like a leaf out of the closing scene of some majestic tragedy—

> High actions and high passions best describing:

whereas Elizabeth,—who, if she had proceeded to the execution with the same openness, directness, and solemnity with which she had conducted the trial, would have seemed, in the eyes of her own people at least, like the minister of God's justice,—contrived by her delays, uncertainties, and ambiguous directions, to seem like one sacrificing justice to state policy, and doing what she was ashamed of.

2.

While the "great cause" was proceeding to this tragical issue, Bacon's "mootings and exercises of learning" as an utter barrister of Gray's Inn were earning their proper reward.* On the 10th of

February, 1585-6, a pension was held, at which (whether upon the mere motion of the Benchers or by the help of interest at Court I do not know) he was admitted "to have place with the Readers at the Readers' table; but not to have any voice in pension, nor to win ancienty of any that was his ancient, or should read before him."[1] And this must have been speedily followed by full admission to the Bench. For in a list of his honours, as given in a book which seems to have been transferred by some accident from Gray's Inn to the British Museum (Harl. MSS. 1912), he is stated to have become a Bencher in 1586. And this I presume gave him that entrance "within bars," with liberty to plead in the Courts of Westminster, for which he had been seeking.

3.

The Parliament did not meet again for work till the 22nd of February; on which day the perilous condition of the Protestant cause in Europe was set forth at large to the House by Sir Christopher Hatton, and urged as a motive for granting a subsidy,—to be employed mainly in supporting the Netherlands against Spain. A committee, including the first knight of every shire as well as all the privy councillors that were of the House, was immediately appointed in the usual form, "to set down articles for the subsidy." And they appear to have entered on the business with more than usual alacrity. If the Journals are not too imperfect to ground a conjecture upon, they agreed at once to offer more than was asked. But a difficulty arose. On the one hand, a single subsidy was thought insufficient for the exigency; on the other hand, to grant a double subsidy (which had never been done yet) would create a precedent which might be abused. In order to avoid the precedent, and yet not to withhold the necessary supply, it was proposed to increase the grant by "a loan or voluntary contribution," to be offered to the Queen by both Houses. Such at least seems to be the most probable explanation of an entry in the Journals of the 23rd of February (the day after the appointment of the Subsidy Committee), which deserves to be quoted both for the proposal itself—a novel one as originating in such a quarter—and for the prominent position in which it exhibits Bacon's

[1] Lansd. MSS. 51. 6. The paper from which I quote appears to be an extract from the register, and underneath are written some notes in Burghley's hand, not easily legible, but, as well as I can make out, to this effect:—

"Specially admitted to be out of commons; sending for beer, victuals, wine.

"Admitted of the Grand Company, whereby he hath won ancienty of forty, being but of three years' continuance.

"Utter Barrister upon three years' study.

"Admitted to the high table, where none are but Readers."

name. It runs thus:—"The Committees appointed for conference touching a loan or benevolence to be offered to her Majesty are, Mr. Francis Bacon, Mr. Edward Lewkenor, and others."[1] And I quote it the rather because in the two next Parliaments we shall find Bacon's name equally prominent in connexion with motions which, though not the same, were for the same object. The result in this case is not distinctly stated. It may be inferred however from the silence of the Journals, that it was judged best not to proceed further in the matter till the Subsidy Bill had been framed and passed in the ordinary way. But as soon as this was done,—as soon as a bill for one subsidy and two fifteenths and tenths had passed through its three readings and gone to the upper House (which was on the 7th of March[2]),—the subject was taken up again; and on the 11th a Committee was appointed to confer with the Lords, and invite them to join "in a *Contribution or Benevolence* for the charges of the Low Countries' wars, which they of the House of Commons meant to offer unto her Majesty."[3] The Lords declined the proposal, and it was resolved that each House should proceed by itself. What the Lords did further, or whether they did anything, is not stated; but the Commons, being informed on the 18th that the Queen, "understanding of their great love unto her in regard of the charges sustained in the Low Countries," would give audience that afternoon to some convenient number of them, appointed a Committee to wait on her;[4] and as we hear no more of the matter, I conclude that at this audience the offer was made and declined: a circumstance to which Bacon probably alludes in his 'Discourse in praise of his Sovereign' (written about the year 1592), where he says,—"There shall you find no new taxes, impositions, nor devices; but the benevolence of the subject freely offered by assent of Parliament, according to the ancient rates, and with great moderation in assessment: and not so only, but *some new forms of contribution offered likewise by the subject in Parliament, and the demonstration of their devotion only accepted, but the thing never put in ure:*" a passage of which the substance is repeated in his 'Observations on a Libel.'

For the rest, this session was chiefly remarkable for an ineffectual attempt to revive the question concerning ecclesiastical government so much discussed in the last Parliament, and to raise a question concerning the right of free speech in that House; both which motions were summarily answered by the removal to the Tower of the members who stirred them;—also for the quiet way in which the

[1] D'Ewes, p. 410. In the MS. the rest of the names are given; more than thirty, and of all degrees.
[2] D'Ewes, p. 412. [3] D'Ewes, p. 386. [4] D'Ewes, p. 416.

House took the matter; the majority being content, it seems, when it was proposed to petition for the restitution of their missing members, to suppose that "they might *perhaps* be committed for somewhat that concerned not the business or privileges of the House."[1] But the times were too full of danger to allow of a quarrel between the Queen and the Commons just then.

4.

Parliament was dissolved on the 23rd of March, 1586–7: and from this time we have no more news of Bacon (unless it be worth while to mention that he assisted in getting up the masque which was presented to the Queen by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn on the 28th of February following) till after the defeat of the Spanish Armada; an event which I need only name, that its significance in relation to all the political questions of the time may be sufficiently appreciated.

I must not, however, omit to state that among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum (vol. 754), there is a political tract belonging to this period, which is entered in Ayscough's catalogue (p. 94) as Bacon's, with the following title:—"A brief discourse touching the Low Countries, the King of Spain, the King of Scots, the French King, and Queen Elizabeth, with some other remarkable passages of State." The paper thus described in the catalogue is a collector's transcript, and wants one or more leaves at the beginning, including the title. It is a paper of considerable historical value, as containing the views of some man of learning, experience, and sagacity, writing at the time. But upon a careful examination of it, I am convinced that it was not written by Bacon. It wants his order, clearness, and conciseness; and is distinguished by a certain mannerism and trick of style not to be found in any of his acknowledged writings. It must have been written after the execution of Mary and before the arrival of the Spanish Armada; and the writer's object is to show the hazardous position in which England then stood from the combinations and temper of the several European powers; from the policy which she had pursued abroad, especially towards Spain,—a policy calculated, he says, to provoke his resentment without weakening his force; and also (which one is less prepared to hear) from the defenceless condition of England herself. The passage which relates to this last point is worth transcribing, because it gives the true and sufficient explanation of the conduct of the patriots of that time in

[1] D'Ewes, p. 412: 4th March.

suspending the prosecution of all internal disputes between the people and the Crown.

"Contrariwise is it," says the writer, "touching ourselves: all things being in suspicion: the realm full of hatred and emulation: the people naturally inclined to commotion and novelty: the treasure not sufficient to maintain any wars of moment and continuance: since all things by war and tumults would be [so] disordered, that the revenues, imposts, forfeits, commodities, and the very wealth and possessions of every private man or person would convert into nothing in a short time: assured of the friendship of few: having been at some times in a manner grievous unto all, either by arms, sowing of discords, or other injuries; for our strength is[1] more mighty in opinion than in true force; the number of our commanders and leaders, to be required for an army royal, unskilful: our soldiers and people without discipline; the defence of a kingdom not consisting in a multitude confused and without order: for great is the difference between the virtue of soldiers exercised and trained in war, and armies newly and hastily levied, and compounded of the multitude more wilful than skilful, and by so much the less apt to be drawn under discipline by how much more by their nature and custom they are seldom conformable unto any good order; making themselves most notable examples of ignorance and confusion: grounding their doings upon fallible hopes and vain expectations; furious when the danger is far off, and very irresolute when the peril approacheth; full of fears and causeless conjectures, in such sort as it maketh them forgetful above shame and all other observances; and when the calamity is general, it leaves every one to his fortune; impression for the most part amazing more than the peril itself."

The sudden and utter overthrow of the Spanish Armada within a few months after this was written, together with the frustration of all subsequent attempts at invasion, has made us forget that the possibility of losing our national independence while grasping too eagerly at securities for civil liberty was ever really in question. But we shall form a very imperfect judgment of the motives and conduct of the men of those times if we do not bear always in mind that in the latter days of Queen Elizabeth such fears as these were both seriously entertained, and not altogether unreasonable.

5.

On the 20th of July, 1588, the Spanish Armada appeared in the British Channel, while the Prince of Parma waited with a large army in the Low Countries ready to form a junction at Calais. By the middle of August the wreck of the Armada was making its way home round the shores of Scotland and Ireland, and the Prince of Parma

[1] So in MS. Query, "for our strength, *it* is," etc.?

was drawing his forces away from the coast. But though baffled for the season, Spain was neither disabled by this disaster, nor perhaps (considering in how great part it was owing to accidents of weather) very much discouraged; and next spring was looked forward to with great and just apprehension. By way of preparation, Elizabeth summoned a new Parliament for November, 1588; which did not however meet for business till the 4th of February following. The cause for which they were called was explained by Sir Christopher Hatton, now Lord Chancellor,—namely, to take measures for provision of arms, soldiers, and money, against the future attempts of the King of Spain. The Commons were as prompt as before to meet the extraordinary occasion by an extraordinary supply; but not less jealous than before of setting an example which other Parliaments might be expected to follow on occasions less urgent, or by sovereigns less frugal, less disinterested, and less in sympathy with the people. How they attempted to escape this dilemma in the last Parliament, I have already explained. They then voted a single subsidy to be levied in the usual way, but offered at the same time to sanction the collection of a benevolence or voluntary contribution. To this however the Queen herself objected (graciously, I suppose, yet so as to forbid the renewal of a similar offer), and contented herself for that time with the simple subsidy. There was now nothing left for them (having a due regard to the exigencies of the State) but to grant a double subsidy, leviable according to the ancient usage; and to provide as far as might be against its passing into a precedent for the future, by introducing a clause for that express purpose into the preamble of the bill. Whether the precaution originated with Bacon in either case, I cannot say; but here again his name stands foremost in connexion with it. The suggestion had been made and approved in the Committee, and "one of the Committees, to wit Mr. Francis Bacon, had for that purpose set down a note in writing;"[1] which having been read and approved by the House, it was agreed that the Speaker should deliver it to her Majesty's learned counsel, who were charged with the preparation of the Bill; and that "the said Mr. Bacon should also repair unto them for the further proceeding therein with them."

No objection seems to have been made; for the preamble of the Act, after reciting in the customary manner the occasion of the present grant, adds,—"and for that we do perceive that the granting only of *such an ordinary subsidy to be levied as hath been commonly used in former times of smaller dangers, is in no wise sufficient and answerable to the unusual and great charges sustained and to be sustained by your Majesty for these so great actions*," etc., and so pro-

[1] D'Ewes, p. 433: 17th February, 1588-9.

ceeds to grant two entire subsidies and four fifteenths and tenths.[1] The bill, after some slight opposition (in which it is worth observing that the tendency of so large a grant to interfere with a *Benevolence*, should such a measure be required, was urged as an objection on the *popular* side[2]) was passed by the Commons on the 8th of March, by the Lords on the 17th, and was presented to the Queen by the Speaker on the 29th, together with a request from both Houses that she would denounce open war against the King of Spain; after which the Parliament was dissolved.

Bacon, who had just completed his twenty-eighth year, and was now a "Reader" in Gray's Inn,[3] sate in this Parliament for Liverpool. The more frequent appearance of his name in the Journals, both as a member of Committees, and as reporter of their proceedings to the House, attests his rising importance. But the other proceedings of this Session have little interest for us. A bill to reform certain abuses by *purveyors*, and another concerning *process and pleadings in the Court of Exchequer*, did indeed at one time threaten to bring Privilege into collision with Prerogative; the discussion being interrupted by a message from the Queen; but through a conciliatory demeanour on both sides, the occasion passed off quietly. For the rest, the House appears to have been chiefly occupied with questions of Privilege in which the Crown did not care to meddle; questions concerning elections, attendance of members, the reporting of speeches out-of-doors, and the like; important in the history of the House of Commons, but throwing no light upon the character or career of Bacon; whom we are now to follow into a new subject, the interest of which is unhappily not yet worn out.

6.

The great question between the High Church and the Nonconformists (now beginning to be called Puritans) was no longer agitated in

[1] *Subsidy.*—"An aid to be levied of every subject of his lands or goods, after the rate of 4*s.* in the pound for lands and 2*s.* 8*d.* for goods, to such ends, . . . and to be paid at such times, as by the Acts thereof do appear." "A *fifteen* is a temporary aid granted to the King by Parliament, which without further inquiry is certain. . . . Of ancient time, the fifteenth part of goods movable; but in 8 Ed. III., all the cities, boroughs, and towns in England were rated certainly at the fifteenth part of the value at that time generally upon the whole town." . . . "There is a *decima pars* of the laity, and for the most part of cities and boroughs, by their goods, which proportionably is *secundum decimam quintam partem*." . . . "In former times . . . the Commons never gave above one subsidy of this kind and two fifteens (and sometimes less); one subsidy amounting to £70,000, and each fifteen to £29,000, or near thereabouts. Nor above one subsidy, which did rise to £20,000, the Clergy gave not. . . . In 31 Eliz. the Commons gave two subsidies and four fifteens, which first brake the circle." (Coke's Inst. part iv. c. 1.)

[2] See Strype, 'Annals of the Reformation,' vol. iii. (2) p. 566.

[3] Harl. MSS. 1912.

[4] D'Ewes, pp. 432, 3, 7, 8, 9.

Parliament; the quarrels between the two being suspended for the time by the common danger which threatened both. But it was further than ever from being settled. The suppressive and exclusive policy pursued by the authorities was already yielding its natural fruits. The leaders of the reform, being denied a hearing in the great council of the nation, had fallen back for support upon the ranks of their own party. The preachers, being forbidden to preach openly, met in secret synods and conventicles. The licensed press being closed to their writings, a secret and movable printing apparatus, evading the vigilance of Government by shifting rapidly from place to place, scattered anonymous publications all over the land,—the more licentious because published in defiance of authority, and the more eagerly sought after because forbidden. Hence to moderate projects of reform, framed to avoid reasonable objections on the part of the Government, succeeded sweeping propositions framed to conciliate the sympathy and satisfy the desires of an extreme party: to grave discussion of principles, fairly urged and fairly answered, succeeded bitter and scurrilous personalities: to the fruits of gradual reform, the seeds of a violent revolution.

Of all this Bacon had been an attentive and anxious observer. He had heard at Cambridge the beginnings of the controversy between the High Churchmen and the most eminent of the Nonconformists. He had seen in France the desolating effects of religious dissension in its later stages. He had listened in the Parliament of 1584, to debates concerning the abuses of our own church-government; had heard the particulars of those abuses amply set forth and vehemently disputed; had heard of parishes served by ministers unlearned and incompetent, or not served at all; of men of the greatest learning and the purest lives suspended from their ministry for objecting to wear a surplice, or for refusing to subscribe articles newly devised, not imposed by the statutes of the realm, not touching any vital or essential points of doctrine; of the gravest functions of bishops delegated to officials and commissaries; of ministers compelled to answer on oath to any questions which the bishops might think fit to ask either out of their own vague suspicions or out of the suggestions of common rumour; of excommunication abused into an ordinary instrument for enforcing slight points of discipline or exacting fees; of the suppression by authority of those conferences and exercises among the clergy which were best fitted to instruct and practise them in the duties of their calling; of non-residents and pluralists; and much else of the kind. He had heard measures for the redress of these abuses proposed and argued in no immoderate or unreasonable spirit; had seen the grounds upon which the authorities resisted them; had

seen all free discussion of them peremptorily suppressed; and had no doubt formed his own opinion upon the merits of the controversy and the issues to which it was inevitably leading. He had seen that, though the principal demands of the main body of reformers were as yet moderate and just and involved no violent alteration, the extremes were already beginning to assail the very constitution of the Church, and to erect within it a government by synods,—that is to say, a government essentially democratical *within* a government essentially monarchal (a proceeding full of peril, because, as the two could never have gone at the same pace, one must before long have overthrown the other); and it must have been clear enough to such a judgment as his, that unless the Church could distinguish and detach the moderate from the immoderate, they would be continually drawing closer together, and making a common cause of it.

The authorities of the Church, indeed, saw nothing of this. To them the Puritans were but a turbulent faction, which was to be suppressed in its beginnings, for concessions would but embolden them to make further demands. But Bacon knew better. He knew by the example of his own mother, who sympathized with the cause of the reformers from the bottom of her soul, with what depths of religious emotion it was allied, and that, however poor and narrow the creed, there burned at the centre of that cause a fire of authentic faith, which an attempt to suppress by denying it vent might raise into a conflagration, but could never put out. He saw (or if I may not assume that he saw, he at least took the course which such foresight would have suggested) that the one chance for the Church was to understand this herself, and to understand it in time, and thereupon to seek, by casting out all that was evil in herself, to assimilate and draw into her system all that was good in them;—a course which, had it been commenced soon enough, and judiciously followed out, would probably have converted the stream which not many years after burst in upon her like a torrent and flooded all her chambers, into a source of continual supply, health, and refreshment: and he resolved to try whether a word spoken in season might not do something to guide her into this course.

The particular occasion which moved him to take a part in the dispute was the Marprelate controversy; that disgraceful pamphlet-war which raged so furiously in 1588 and 1589, between the revilers of the bishops on the one side, and the revilers of the Puritans on the other, and in which the appeal was made by both parties to the basest passions and prejudices of the vulgar. Though this was the natural result of an attempt to suppress all legitimate demonstration of opinion through Parliament, pulpit, or press, it was not the less

to be deplored, as tending to inflame animosities, deepen prejudices, and bring both parties into contempt. The first attack, which came from some anonymous and probably self-elected champion of the Puritans, under the assumed name of Martin Marprelate, had been gravely and temperately answered by Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, in a pamphlet entitled "An Admonition to the People of England;" but a cause must be very clear and unimpeachable which can maintain itself before a popular auditory against a nameless antagonist, who can use the full licence of slander and foul language without any personal responsibility. The Admonition may have done something to correct the impressions of reasonable men, if any such there were, whose opinions had been influenced by Marprelate; but to the controversy it served only as fresh fuel, and was quickly replied upon by fresh volumes of scurrility and abuse; which again brought forth to the rescue of the bishops a new kind of allies, whose alliance would have disgraced the clearest cause,—men whose best weapon was the vilest slang and ribaldry of the stage.

This scandalous contest was at its height in the summer of 1589, and it seems to have been about that time that Bacon drew up (not for publication apparently, but for circulation in manuscript) that "Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England," which was first printed as a separate pamphlet in 1640, when the Long Parliament was busy with these questions; afterwards by Dr. Rawley in 'The Resuscitatio' (1657), and again as a separate pamphlet in 1663, when the question of toleration to Dissenters was raised under Charles II. What use Bacon made of this paper at the time, to whom he sent copies, or whether he put his name to it, I have not been able to discover. But there can be no doubt that it faithfully expresses his earnest and deliberate judgment upon the points in question: and when we consider the relation in which he then stood towards the Queen and Government on one side, and towards the party with which his mother so entirely sympathized on the other, we may judge how deep must have been the interest which impelled him to interpose between such disputants, in the character, so often wanted but so seldom welcome, of a peace-maker who has to remonstrate against the conduct of both sides. Of the manner in which he performed the office, I need say nothing. The paper explains itself; and the advice, though addressed especially to the parties and events of the year 1589, may be read with advantage by all parties in all times.

I have taken the text from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (E Mus. 55); the best I have met with; though chargeable with two or three errors or omissions, which will be noticed in their places.

AN ADVERTISEMENT
TOUCHING THE CONTROVERSIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

IT is but ignorance if any man find it strange that the state of religion (especially in the days of peace) should be exercised and troubled with controversies. For as it is the condition of the church militant to be ever under trials, so it cometh to pass that when the fiery trial of persecution ceaseth there succeedeth another trial, which as it were by contrary blasts of doctrine doth sift and winnow men's faith, and proveth them whether they know God aright, even as that other of afflictions discovereth whether they love him better than the world. Accordingly was it foretold by Christ, saying, *That in the latter times it should be said, Lo here, lo there is Christ:* which is to be understood, not as if the very person of Christ should be assumed and counterfeited, but his authority and pre-eminence (which is to be Truth itself) that should be challenged and pretended. Thus have we read and seen to be fulfilled that which followeth, *Ecce in deserto, ecce in penetralibus:* while some have sought the truth in the conventicles and conciliables of heretics and sectaries, and others in the extern face and representation of the church; and both sorts been seduced. Were it then that the controversies of the Church of England were such as did divide the unity of the spirit, and not such as only do unswathe her of her bonds (the bonds of peace), yet could it be no occasion for any pretended Catholic to judge us, or for any irreligious person to despise us. Or if it be, it shall but happen to us all as it hath used to do; to them to be hardened, and to us to endure the good pleasure of God. But now that our contentions are such, as we need not so much that general canon and sentence of Christ pronounced against heretics, *Erratis, nescientes Scripturas, nec potestatem Dei,* as we need the admonition of St. James, *Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath;* and that the wound is no way dangerous, except we poison it with our remedies; as the former sort of men have less reason to make themselves music in our discord, so I have good hope that nothing shall displease ourselves which shall be sincerely and modestly propounded for the appeasing of these dissensions. For if any shall be offended at this voice, *Vos estis fratres; ye are brethren, why strive ye?* he shall give a great presumption against himself, that he is *the party that doth his brother wrong.*

The controversies themselves I will not enter into, as judging that the disease requireth rather rest than any other cure. Thus much we all know and confess, that they be not of the highest nature; for they are not touching the high mysteries of faith, such as detained the churches after their first peace for many years; what time the heretics moved curious questions, and made strange anatomies of the natures and person of Christ; and the Catholic fathers were compelled to follow them with all subtility of decisions and determinations, to exclude them from their evasions and to take them in their labyrinths; so as it is rightly said, *illis temporibus ingeniosa res fuit esse Christianum; in those days it was an ingenious and subtle matter to be a Christian.* Neither are they concerning the great parts of the worship of God, of which it is true that *non servatur unitas in credendo, nisi eadem adsit in colendo; there will be kept no unity in believing, except it be entertained in worshiping;* such as were the controversies of the east and west churches touching images; and such as are many of those between the Church of Rome and us; as about the adoration of the Sacrament, and the like. But we contend about ceremonies and things indifferent; about the extern policy and government of the church. In which kind, if we would but remember that the ancient and true bonds of unity are *one faith, one baptism,* and not one ceremony, one policy; if we would observe the league amongst Christians that is penned by our Saviour, *he that is not against us is with us:* if we could but comprehend that saying, *differentia rituum commendat unitatem doctrinæ; the diversity of ceremonies doth set forth the unity of doctrine;* and that *habet religio quæ sunt æternitatis, habet quæ sunt temporis; religion hath parts which belong to eternity, and parts which pertain to time:* and if we did but know the virtue of silence and slowness to speak, commended by St. James; our controversies of themselves would close up and grow together. But most especially, if we would leave the over-weening and turbulent humours of these times, and revive the blessed proceeding of the Apostles and Fathers of the primitive church, which was, in the like and greater cases, not to enter into assertions and positions, but to deliver counsels and advices, we should need no other remedy at all. *Si eadem consulis, frater, quæ affirmas, debetur consulenti reverentia, cum non debeatur fides affirmanti; brother, if that which you set*

down as an assertion, you would deliver by way of advice, there were reverence due to your counsel, whereas faith is not due to your affirmation. St. Paul was content to speak thus, *Ego, non Dominus; I, and not the Lord: Et, secundum consilium meum; according to my counsel.* But now men do too lightly say, *Non ego, sed Dominus; not I, but the Lord:* yea, and bind it with heavy denunciations of his judgments, to terrify the simple, which have not sufficiently understood out of Salomon, that *the causeless curse shall not come.*

Therefore seeing the accidents are they which breed the peril, and not the things themselves in their own nature, it is meet the remedies be applied unto them, by opening what it is on either part, that keepeth the wound green, and formalizeth both sides to a further opposition, and worketh an indisposition in men's minds to be reunited. Wherein no accusation is pretended; but I find in reason, that peace is best built upon a repetition of wrongs: and in example, that the speeches which have been made by the wisest men *de concordia ordinum* have not abstained from reducing to memory the extremities used on both parts. So as it is true which is said, *Qui pacem tractat non repetitis conditionibus dissidii, is magis animos hominum dulcedine pacis fallit, quam æquitate componit.*

And first of all, it is more than time that there were an end and surseance made of this immodest and deformed manner of writing lately entertained, whereby matters of religion are handled in the style of the stage. Indeed, bitter and earnest writing may not hastily be condemned; for men cannot contend coldly and without affection about things which they hold dear and precious. A politic man may write from his brain, without touch and sense of his heart, as in a speculation that pertaineth not unto him; but a feeling Christian will express in his words a character either of zeal or love.[1] The latter of which as I could wish rather embraced, being more fit for these times, yet is the former warranted also by great examples. But to leave all reverent and religious compassion towards evils, or indignation towards faults, and to turn religion into a comedy or satire; to search and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance; to intermix Scripture and scurrility sometime in one sentence; is a thing far from the devout reverence of a

[1] *either of hate or love*: Harl. MSS. 3795.

Christian, and scant beseeming the honest regard of a sober man. *Non est major confusio, quam serii et joci; there is no greater confusion, than the confounding of jest and earnest.* The majesty of religion, and the contempt and deformity of things ridiculous, are things as distant as things may be. Two principal causes have I ever known of Atheism; curious controversies, and profane scoffing. Now that these two are joined in one, no doubt that sect will make no small progression.

And here I do much esteem the wisdom and religion of that bishop which replied to the first pamphlet of this kind, who remembered that *a fool was to be answered, but not by becoming like unto him;* and considered the matter that he handled, and not the person with whom he dealt. Job, speaking of the majesty and gravity of a judge in himself, saith, *If I did smile, they believed it not:* as if he should have said, If I diverted, or glanced unto conceit of mirth, yet men's minds were so possessed with a reverence of the action in hand, as they could not receive it. Much more ought this to be amongst bishops and divines disputing about holy things. And therefore as much do I dislike the invention of him who (as it seemeth) pleased himself in it as in no mean policy, that these men are to be dealt withal at their own weapons, and pledged in their own cup. This seemed to him as profound a device, as when the Cardinal Sansovino[2] counselled Julius II. to encounter the Council of Pisa with the Council Lateran; or as lawful a challenge as Mr. Jewel made to confute the pretended Catholics by the Fathers. But these things will not excuse the imitation of evil in another. It should be contrariwise with us, as Cæsar said, *Nil malo, quam eos similes esse sui, et me mei.* But now, *Dum de bonis contendimus, in malis consentimus; while we differ about good things, we resemble in evil.* Surely, if I were asked of these men who were the more to be blamed, I should percase remember the proverb, that *the second blow maketh the fray,* and the saying of an obscure fellow, *Qui replicat, multiplicat; he that replieth, multiplieth.* But I would determine the question with this sentence; *Alter principium malo dedit, alter modum abstulit; by the one's means we have a beginning, and by the other's we shall have none end.* And truly, as I do marvel that some of those preachers which

[1] A blank is left in the Bodleian MS. for this name, which is supplied from the Resuscitatio and from Ad. MS. 4263, f. 127.

call for reformation (whom I am far from wronging so far as to join them with these scoffers) do not publish some declaration whereby they may satisfy the world that they dislike their cause should be thus solicited; so I hope assuredly that my lords of the clergy have none intelligence with this other libeller,[1] but do altogether disallow that their credit should be thus defended. For though I observe in him[2] many glosses, whereby the man would insinuate himself into their favours, yet I find it to be ordinary, that many pressing and fawning persons do misconjecture of the humours of men in authority, and many times *Veneri immolant suem, they seek to gratify them with that which they most dislike.* For I have great reason to satisfy myself touching the judgments of my lords the bishops in this matter, by that which was written by one of them, which I mentioned before with honour. Nevertheless I note, there is not an indifferent hand carried towards these pamphlets as they deserve. For the one sort flieth in the dark, and the other is uttered openly; wherein I might advise that side out of a wise writer, who hath set it down that *punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas.* And indeed we see it ever falleth out that the forbidden writing is thought to be certain sparks of a truth that fly up in the faces of those that seek to choke it and tread it out; whereas a book authorized is thought to be but *temporis voces, the language of the time.* But in plain truth I do find (to my understanding) these pamphlets as meet to be suppressed as the other. First, because as the former sort doth deface the government of the church in the persons of the bishops and prelates, so the other doth lead into contempt the exercises of religion in the persons of sundry preachers; so as it disgraceth an higher matter, though in the meaner person. Next, I find certain indiscreet and dangerous amplifications, as if the civil government itself of this estate had near lost the force of her sinews, and were ready to enter into some convulsion, all things being full of faction and disorder; which is as unwisely acknowledged as untruly affirmed. I know his meaning is to enforce this unreverent and violent impugning of the government of bishops to be a suspected forerunner of a more general contempt. And I grant there is sympathy between the states; but no such

[1] *of this inter-libelling:* Ad. MS. 4263. [2] *in one of them:* Ad. MS. 4263.

matter in the civil policy, as deserveth so dishonourable a taxation. To conclude this point: As it were to be wished that these writings had been abortive, and never seen the sun; so the next is, since they be comen abroad, that they be censured (by all that have understanding and conscience) as the intemperate extravagancies of some light persons. Yea further, that men beware (except they mean to adventure to deprive themselves of all sense of religion, and to pave their own hearts, and make them as the highway) how they be conversant in them, and much more how they delight[1] in that vein; but rather to turn their laughing into blushing, and to be ashamed, as of a short madness, that they have in matters of religion taken their disport and solace. But this perchance is of those faults which will be soonest acknowledged; though I perceive nevertheless that there want not some who seek to blanch and excuse it.

But to descend to a sincere view and consideration of the accidents and circumstances of these controversies, wherein either part deserveth blame or imputation; I find generally, in causes of church controversies, that men do offend in some or all of these five points.

1. The first is, the giving of occasion unto the controversies: and also the inconsiderate and ungrounded taking of occasion.

2. The next is, the extending and multiplying the controversies to a more general opposition or contradiction than appeareth at the first propounding of them, when men's judgments are less partial.

3. The third is, the passionate and unbrotherly practices and proceedings of both parts towards the persons each of others, for their discredit and suppression.

4. The fourth is, the courses holden and entertained on either side, for the drawing of their partizants to a more strait union within themselves, which ever importeth a further distraction of the entire body.

5. The last is, the undue and inconvenient propounding, publishing, and debating of the controversies. In which point the most palpable error hath been already spoken of; as that which through the strangeness and freshness of the abuse first offereth itself to the conceits of all men.

[1] So Resuscitatio. The Bodleian MS. as well as Ad. MS. 4263, has *to delight*.

1. Now concerning the occasion of controversies, it cannot be denied but that the imperfections in the conversation and government of those which have chief place in the church have ever been principal causes and motives of schisms and divisions. For whilst the bishops and governors of the church continue full of knowledge and good works; whilst they feed the flock indeed; whilst they deal with the secular states in all liberty and resolution, according to the majesty of their calling, and the precious care of souls imposed upon them; so long the church *is situate as it were upon an hill;* no man maketh question of it, or seeketh to depart from it. But when these virtues in the fathers and leaders of the church have lost their light, and that they wax worldly, *lovers of themselves, and pleasers of men,* then men begin to grope for the church as in the dark; they are in doubt whether they be the successors of the Apostles, or of the Pharisees; yea, howsoever they sit in Moses' chair, yet they can never speak *tanquam auctoritatem habentes, as having authority,* because they have lost their reputation in the consciences of men, by declining their steps from the way which they trace out to others. So as men had need continually have sounding in their ears this saying: *Nolite exire, go not out;* so ready are they to depart from the church upon every voice. And therefore it is truly noted by one that writeth as a natural man, *that the hypocrisy*[1] *of freres did for a great time maintain and bear out the irreligion of bishops and prelates.* For this is the double policy of the spiritual enemy, either by counterfeit holiness of life to establish and authorize errors; or by corruption of manners to discredit and draw in question truth and things lawful. This concerneth my lords the bishops, unto whom I am witness to myself that I stand affected

[1] So all the MSS.; and the word "counterfeit" in the next sentence supports and explains the reading. In the 'Resuscitatio' *humility* is substituted. The same passage is cited for another purpose in the 'Advancement of Learning' (Works, iii. p. 275), and given thus:—"That the kingdom of the clergy had been long before at an end, if the reputation and reverence towards the poverty of Friars had not borne out the scandal of the superfluities and excesses of Bishops and Prelates." The passage alluded to is in Machiavelli's 'Discorsi' (iii. 1). "Ma quanto alle Sette, si vede ancora queste rinnuovazioni esser necessario par l'esempio della nostra Religione, la quale, se non fusse stata ritirata verso il suo principio da San Francesco e da San Domenico, sarebbe al tutto spenta, perchè questi, con la povertà e con l'esempio della vita di Christo, la ridussono nella mente degli uomini, che già vi era spenta; e furono si potenti gli ordini loro nuovi, che ei sono cagione che la disonestà de' Prelati e de' Capi della Religione non la rovini, vivendo ancora poveramente, e avendo tanto credito nelle confessioni con i popoli, e nelle predicazioni, ch' è danno loro ad intendere come egli è male a dir male," etc. "Ha adunque questa rinnuovazione mantenuto e mantiene questa Religione."

as I ought. No contradiction hath supplanted in me the reverence I owe to their calling; neither hath any detractation or calumny embased mine opinion of their persons. I know some of them, whose names are most pierced with these accusations, to be men of great virtues; although the indisposition of the time, and the want of correspondence many ways, is enough to frustrate the best endeavours in the edifying of the church. And for the rest generally, I can condemn none. I am no judge of them that belong to so high a master; neither have I *two witnesses*. And I know it is truly said of fame, *Pariter facta, atque infecta canebat*. Their taxations arise not all from one coast; they have many and different enemies, ready to invent slander, more ready to amplify it, and most ready to believe it. And *Magnes mendacii credulitas; credulity is the adamant of lies*. But if any be, against whom the supreme bishop *hath not a few things but many things*; if any have *lost his first love*; if any *be neither hot nor cold*; if any have stumbled too foully at the threshold, in sort that he cannot sit well which entered ill; it is time *they return whence they are fallen, and confirm the things that remain*. Great is the weight of this fault; *et eorum causa abhorrebant homines à sacrificio Domini: and for their cause did men abhor the adoration of God*. But howsoever it be, those which have sought to deface them, and cast contempt upon them, are not to be excused.

It is the precept of Salomon, *that the rulers be not reproached; no, not in thought*: but that we draw our very conceit into a modest interpretation of their doings. The holy angel would give no sentence of blasphemy against the common slanderer, but said, *Increpet te Dominus; the Lord rebuke thee*. The Apostle St. Paul, though against him that did pollute sacred justice with tyrannous violence he did justly denounce the judgment of God, in saying *Percutiet te Dominus; the Lord will strike thee*; yet in saying *paries dealbate*,[1] he thought he had gone too far, and retracted it: whereupon a learned father said, *ipsum*

[1] Harl. MS. 3795 gives a different reading, and perhaps the right one.—"The Apostle St. Paul, though against him that did pollute sacred justice with tyrannous violence, in saying *Percutiet te Dominus*, the Lord will strike thee, he offended not, yet in saying *paries dealbate*," etc. The words "he offended not" are inserted in the margin. And it may be that, those words having dropped out in the copy and leaving the sentence imperfect, some one had supplied the words, "he did justly denounce the judgment of God," by conjecture, to complete it.

quamvis inane nomen et umbram sacerdotis cogitans expavit. The ancient councils and synods (as is noted by the ecclesiastical story), when they deprived any bishop, never recorded the offence, but buried it in perpetual silence. Only Cham purchased his curse with revealing his father's disgrace. And yet a much greater fault is it to ascend from their person to their calling, and draw that in question. Many good fathers spake rigorously and severely of the unworthiness of bishops, as if presently it did forfeit and cease their office. One saith, *Sacerdotes nominamur et non sumus; we are called priests, but priests we are not.* Another saith, *Nisi bonum opus amplectaris, episcopus esse non potes; except thou undertake the good work, thou canst not be a bishop.* Yet they meant nothing less than to make doubt of their calling or ordination.

The second occasion of controversies, is the nature and humour of some men. The church never wanteth a kind of persons which love *the salutation of Rabbi, master;* not in ceremony or compliment, but in an inward authority which they seek over men's minds, in drawing them to depend upon their opinion, and *to seek knowledge at their lips.* These men are the true successors of *Diotrephes, the lover of pre-eminence,* and not lords bishops. Such spirits do light upon another sort of natures, which do adhere to them; men *quorum gloria in obsequio; stiff followers, and such as zeal marvellously for those whom they have chosen for their masters.* This latter sort, for the most part, are men of young years and superficial understanding, carried away with partial respect of persons, or with the enticing appearance of goodly names and pretences. *Pauci res ipsas sequuntur, plures nomina rerum, plurimi nomina magistrorum; few follow the things themselves, more the names of the things, and most the names of their masters.* About these general affections are wreathed accidental and private emulations and discontentments, all which together break forth into contentions; such as either violate truth, sobriety, or peace. These generalities apply themselves. The universities are the seat and continent of this disease, whence it hath been and is derived into the rest of the realm. There some will no longer be *è numero,* of the number. There some others side themselves before *they know their right hand from their left.* So it is true which is said, *transeunt ab ignorantia ad præjudicium, they leap from ignorance to a prejudi-*

cate opinion, and never take a sound judgment in their way. But as it is well noted, *inter juvenile judicium et senile præjudicium, omnis veritas corrumpitur: when men are indifferent, and not partial, then their judgment is weak and unripe through want of years; and when it groweth to strength and ripeness, by that time it is forestalled with such a number of prejudicate opinions, as it is made unprofitable: so as between these two all truth is corrupted.* In the meanwhile, the honourable names of sincerity, reformation, and discipline are put in the foreward: so as contentions and evil zeals cannot be touched, except these holy things be thought first to be violated. But howsoever they shall infer the solicitation for the peace of the church to proceed from carnal sense, yet I will conclude ever with the Apostle Paul, *Cum sit inter vos zelus et contentio, nonne carnales estis? Whilst there is amongst you zeal and contention, are ye not carnal?* And howsoever they esteem the compounding of controversies to savour of man's wisdom and human policy, and think themselves led by the wisdom which is from above, yet I say with St. James, *Non est ista sapientia de sursum descendens, sed terrena, animalis, diabolica: ubi enim zelus et contentio, ibi inconstantia et omne opus pravum.* Of this inconstancy, it is said by a learned father, *Procedere volunt non ad perfectionem, sed ad permutationem; they seek to go forward still, not to perfection, but to change.*

The third occasion of controversies I observe to be, an extreme and unlimited detestation of some former heresy or corruption of the church already acknowledged and convicted. This was the cause that produced the heresy of Arriùs,[1] grounded chiefly upon detestation of Gentilism, lest the Christians should seem, by the assertion of the co-equal divinity of our Saviour Christ, to approach unto the acknowledgment of more gods than one. The detestation of the heresy of Arrius produced that of Sabellius; who, holding for execrable the dissimilitude which Arrius pretended in the Trinity, fled so far from him, as he fell upon that other extremity, to deny the distinction of persons; and to say they were but only names of several offices and dispensations. Yea, most of the heresies and schisms of the church have sprung up of this root; while men have made it as it were their scale, by which to measure the bounds of the most perfect

[1] *Arrius* in all the MSS.

religion; taking it by the furthest distance from the error last condemned. These be *posthumi hæresium filii; heresies that arise out of the ashes of other heresies that are extinct and amortized.* This manner of apprehension doth in some degree possess many in our times. They think it the true touchstone to try what is good and holy, by measuring what is more or less opposite to the institutions of the Church of Rome; be it ceremony, be it policy or government, yea be it other institution of greater weight, that is ever most perfect which is removed most degrees from that church; and that is ever polluted and blemished which participateth in any appearance with it. This is a subtle and dangerous conceit for men to entertain, apt to delude themselves, more apt to seduce the people, and most apt of all to calumniate their adversaries. This surely (but that a notorious condemnation of that position was before our eyes) had long since brought us to the rebaptising of children baptised according to the pretended catholic religion. For I see that which is a matter of much like reason, which is the re-ordaining of priests, is a matter already resolutely maintained. It is very meet that men beware how they be abused by this opinion; and that they know that it is a consideration of much greater wisdom and sobriety to be well advised, whether in the general demolition of the institutions of the Church of Rome there were not (as men's actions are imperfect) some good purged with the bad, rather than to purge the church, as they pretend, every day anew; which is the way to make a wound in her bowels, as is already begun.

The fourth and last occasion of these controversies (a matter which did also trouble the Church in former times), is the partial affectation and imitation of foreign churches. For many of our men, during the time of persecution and since, having been conversant in churches abroad, and received a great impression of the form of government there ordained, have violently sought to intrude the same upon our Church. But I answer, *Consentiamus in eo quod convenit, non in eo quod receptum est; let us agree in this, that every church do that which is convenient for the estate of itself, and not in particular customs.* Although their churches had received the better form, yet many times it is to be sought, *non quid optimum, sed è bonis quid proximum; not what is best, but of good things what is next and readiest to be had.* Our church is not now to plant; it is settled and

established. It may be, in civil states, a republic is a better policy than a kingdom: yet God forbid that lawful kingdoms should be tied to innovate and make alteration. *Qui mala introducit, voluntatem Dei oppugnat revelatam in verbo; qui nova introducit, voluntatem Dei oppugnat revelatam in rebus; he that bringeth in evil customs, resisteth the will of God revealed in his word; he that bringeth in new things, resisteth the will of God revealed in the things themselves. Consule providentiam Dei, cum verbo Dei; take counsel of the providence of God, as well as of his word.* Neither yet do I admit that their form (though it were possible and convenient) is better than ours, if some abuses were taken away. The parity and equality of ministers is a thing of wonderful great confusion; and so is an ordinary government by synods, which doth necessarily ensue upon the other. It is hard in all causes, but especially in matters of religion, when voices shall be *numbered and not weighed. Equidem* (saith a wise father) *ut vere quod res est scribam, prorsus decrevi fugere omnem conventum episcoporum; nullius enim concilii bonum exitum unquam vidi; concilia enim non minuunt mala, sed augent potius: To say the truth, I am utterly determined never to come to any council of bishops: for I never yet saw good end of any council; for councils abate not ill things, but rather increase them:* which is to be understood not so much of general councils, as of synods gathered for the ordinary government of the church; as for deprivation of bishops, and such-like causes;[1] which mischief hath taught the use of archbishops, patriarchs, and primates; as the abuse of them since hath taught men to mislike them. But it will be said, Look to the fruits of the churches abroad and ours. To which I say, that I beseech the Lord to multiply his blessings and graces upon those churches an hundredfold. But yet it is not good, that we fall on *numbering of them.* It may be our peace hath made us more wanton: It may be also (though I would be loath to derogate from the honour of those churches, were it not to remove scandals,) that their fruits are as torches in the dark, which appear greatest afar off. I know they may have some more strict orders for the repressing of sundry excesses. But when I consider of the censures of some

[1] According to Bishop Thirlwall (Charge, 1851, p. 55) the remark applies peculiarly, if not exclusively, to synods convoked for the determination of controverted points in theology.

persons, as well upon particular men as upon churches, I think of the saying of a Platonist, who saith *Certe vitia irascibilis partis animæ sunt gradu praviora quam concupiscibilis, tametsi occultiora;* a matter that appeared well by the ancient contentions of bishops. God grant that we may contend with other churches, as the vine with the olive, which of us beareth best fruit; and not as the brier with the thistle, which of us is most unprofitable. And thus much touching the occasion of these controversies.

2. Now, briefly to set down the growth and progression of these controversies; whereby will be verified the wise counsel of Salomon, that the course of contentions is to be stopped at the first; being else *as the waters*, which if they gain a breach, it will hardly be ever recovered. It may be remembered, that on their part which call for reformation, was first propounded some dislike of certain ceremonies supposed to be superstitious; some complaint of dumb ministers who possessed rich benefices; and some invectives against the idle and monastical continuance within the universities, by those who had livings to be resident upon; and such-like abuses. Thence they went on to condemn the government of bishops as an hierarchy remaining to us of the corruptions of the Roman church, and to except to sundry institutions as not sufficiently delivered from the pollutions of the former times. And lastly, they are advanced to define of an only and perpetual form of policy in the church; which (without consideration of possibility, or foresight of peril and perturbation of the church and state) must be erected and planted by the magistrate. Here they stay. Others (not able to keep footing in so steep a ground) descend further; That the same must be entered into and accepted of the people, at their peril, without the attending of the establishment of authority: and so in the meantime they refuse to communicate with us, reputing us to have no church. This hath been the progression of that side: I mean of the generality. For I know, some persons (being of the nature, not only to love extremities, but also to fall to them without degrees,) were at the highest strain at the first. The other part, which maintaineth the present government of the church, hath not kept one tenor neither. First, those ceremonies which were pretended to be corrupt they maintained to be things

indifferent, and opposed the examples of the good times of the church to that challenge which was made unto them, because they were used in the later superstitious times. Then were they also content mildly to acknowledge many imperfections in the church: as tares come up amongst the corn; which yet (according to the wisdom taught by our Saviour) were not with strife to be pulled up, lest it might spoil and supplant the good corn, but to grow on together until the harvest. After, they grew to a more absolute defence and maintenance of all the orders of the church, and stiffly to hold that nothing was to be innovated; partly because it needed not, partly because it would make a breach upon the rest. Thence (exasperate through contentions) they are fallen to a direct condemnation of the contrary part, as of a sect. Yea and some indiscreet persons have been bold in open preaching to use dishonourable and derogative speech and censure of the churches abroad; and that so far, as some of our men (as I have heard) ordained in foreign parts have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers. Thus we see the beginnings were modest, but the extremes are violent; so as there is almost as great a distance now of either side from itself, as was at the first of one from the other. And surely, though my meaning and scope be not (as I said before) to enter into the controversies themselves, yet I do admonish the maintainers of the alone discipline to weigh and consider seriously and attentively, how near they are unto those with whom I know they will not join. It is very hard to affirm that the discipline which they say we want is one of the essential parts of the worship of God, and not to affirm withal that the people themselves upon peril of salvation, without staying for the magistrate, are to gather themselves into it. I demand, if a civil state should receive the preaching of the word and baptism, and interdict and exclude the sacrament of the supper, were not men bound upon danger of their souls to draw themselves to congregations, wherein they might celebrate that mystery, and not to content themselves with that part of the worship of God which the magistrate hath authorized? This I speak, not to draw them into the mislike of others, but into a more deep consideration of themselves: *Fortasse non redeunt, quia suum progressum non intelligunt.* Again, to my lords the bishops I say, that it is hard for them to avoid blame (in the opinion of an indifferent person) in stand-

ing so precisely upon altering nothing. *Leges, novis legibus non recreatæ, acescunt; laws, not refreshed with new laws, wax sour. Qui mala non permutat, in bonis non perseverat: without change of the ill, a man cannot continue the good.* To take away abuses supplanteth not good orders, but establisheth them. *Morosa moris retentio res turbulenta est, æque ac novitas; a contentious retaining of custom is a turbulent thing, as well as innovation.* A good husbandman is ever proyning and stirring in his vineyard or field; not unseasonably (indeed) nor unskilfully. But lightly he findeth ever somewhat to do. We have heard of no offers of the bishops of bills in parliament; which (no doubt) proceeding from them to whom it properly pertaineth, would have everywhere received acceptation. Their own constitutions and orders have reformed little. Is nothing amiss? Can any man defend the use of excommunication as a base process to lackey up and down for duties and fees; it being the greatest judgment next the general judgment of the latter day? Is there no means to train up and nurse ministers (for the yield of the universities will not serve, though they were never so well governed),—to train them, I say, not to preach (for that every man confidently adventureth to do), but to preach soundly, and handle the Scriptures with wisdom and judgment? I know prophesying was subject to great abuse, and would be more abused now; because heat of contentions is increased. But I say the only reason of the abuse was, because there was admitted to it a popular auditory, and it was not contained within a private conference of ministers. Other things might be spoken of. I pray God to inspire the bishops with a fervent love and care of the people; and that they may not so much urge things in controversy, as things out of controversy, which all men confess to be gracious and good. And thus much for the second point.

3. Now, as to the third point, of unbrotherly proceeding on either part, it is directly contrary to my purpose to amplify wrongs: it is enough to note and number them; which I do also to move compassion and remorse on the offending side, and not to animate challenges and complaints on the other. And this point (as reason is) doth chiefly touch that side which can do most. *Injuriæ potentiorum sunt: injuries come from them that have the upper hand.*

The wrongs of them which are possessed of the government of the church towards the other, may hardly be dissembled or excused. They have charged them as though *they denied tribute to Cæsar*, and withdrew from the civil magistrate their obedience which they have ever performed and taught. They have ever sorted and coupled them with the Family of love, whose heresies they have laboured to descry and confute. They have been swift of credit to receive accusations against them from those that have quarrelled with them but for speaking against sin and vice. Their examinations and inquisitions have been strait. Swearing men to blanks and generalities (not included within a compass of matter certain, which the party that is to take the oath may comprehend) is a thing captious and strainable. Their urging of subscription to their own articles is but *lacessere et irritare morbos ecclesiæ*, which otherwise would spend and exercise[1] themselves. *Non consensum quærit sed dissidium, qui quod factis præstatur in verbis exigit: he seeketh not unity, but division, which exacteth in words that which men are content to yield in action.* And it is true, there are some which (as I am persuaded) will not easily offend by inconformity, who notwithstanding make some conscience to subscribe. For they know this note of inconstancy and defection from that which they have long held shall disable them to do that good which otherwise they would do: for such is the weakness of many that their ministry should be thereby discredited. As for their easy silencing of them, in such great scarcity of preachers, it is to punish the people, and not them. Ought they not (I mean the bishops) to keep one eye open to look upon the good that these men do, but to fix them both upon the hurt that they suppose cometh by them? Indeed, such as are intemperate and incorrigible, God forbid they should be permitted to teach. But shall every inconsiderate word, sometimes captiously watched, and for the most part hardly enforced, be a forfeiture of their voice and gift of teaching? As for sundry particular molestations, I take no pleasure to recite them. If a minister shall be troubled for saying in baptism, *do you believe?* for, *dost thou believe?* If another shall be called in question for praying for her Majesty without the addition of her style; whereas the very form of prayer in the book of common prayer hath *Thy servant Elizabeth*, and no more: If a

[1] So Resusc. The Bodleian and the Ad. MS. have *crise*: the Harleian, *waste*.

third shall be accused, upon these words uttered touching the controversies, *tollatur lex et fiat certamen*, (whereby was meant that the prejudice of the law removed, either's reasons should be equally compared) of calling the people to sedition and mutiny, as if he had said, *Away with the law, and try it out by force:* If these and sundry other like particulars be true, which I have but by rumour, and cannot affirm; it is to be lamented that they should labour amongst us with so little comfort. I know *restrained governments are better than remiss;* and I am of his mind that said, *Better is it to live where nothing is lawful, than where all things are lawful.* I dislike that laws be contemned, or disturbers be unpunished. But laws are likened to the grape, that being too much pressed yield an hard and unwholesome wine. Of these things I must say: *Ira viri non operatur justitiam Dei; the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.*

As for the injuries of the other part, they be *ictus inermium;* as it were *headless arrows;* they are fiery and eager invectives, and in some fond men uncivil and unreverent behaviour towards their persons. This last invention also, which exposeth them to derision and obloquy by libels, chargeth not (as I am persuaded) the whole side: neither doth that other, which is yet more odious, practised by the worst sort of them, which is, to call in as it were to their aids certain mercenary bands, which impugn bishops and other ecclesiastical dignities, to have the spoil of their endowments and livings. Of this I cannot speak too hardly. It is an intelligence between incendiaries and robbers, the one to fire the house, the other to rifle it. And thus much touching the third point.

4. The fourth point wholly pertaineth to them which impugn the present ecclesiastical government; who, although they have not cut themselves off from the body and communion of the church, yet do they affect certain cognizances and differences, wherein they seek to correspond amongst themselves, and to be separated from others. And it is truly said, *tam sunt mores quidam schismatici, quam dogmata schismatica; there be as well schismatical fashions as opinions.* First, they have improperedl to themselves the names of zealous, sincere, and reformed; as if all others were

[1] So the Bodleian MS. Ad. MS. 4263 has *impropried:* the Resuscitatio, *impropriated.*

cold, minglers of holy things and profane, and friends of abuses. Yea, be a man endued with great virtues and fruitful in good works, yet if he concur not with them, they term him (in derogation) a civil and moral man, and compare him to Socrates or some heathen philosopher: whereas the wisdom of the Scriptures teacheth us contrariwise to judge and denominate men religious according to their works of the second table; because they of the first are often counterfeited and practised in hypocrisy. So St. John saith, that *a man doth vainly boast of loving God whom he hath not seen, if he love not his brother whom he hath seen.* And St. James saith, *This is true religion, to visit the fatherless and the widow,* etc. So as that which is with them but philosophical and moral, is, in the phrase of the Apostle, *true religion* and Christianity. As in affection they challenge the said virtues of *zeal* and the rest, so in knowledge they attribute unto themselves *light* and *perfection.* They say, the Church of England in King Edward's time, and in the beginning of her Majesty's reign, was but in the cradle; and the bishops in those times did somewhat for daybreak, but that maturity and fullness of light proceeded from themselves. So Sabinus, bishop of Heraclea, a Macedonian, said that the fathers in the Council of Nice *were but infants and ignorant men;* and *that the church was not so to persist in their decrees as to refuse that further ripeness of knowledge which the time had revealed.* And as they censure virtuous men by the names of civil and moral, so do they censure men truly and godly wise (who see into the vanity of their assertions) by the name of politiques; saying that their wisdom is but carnal and savouring of man's brain. So likewise if a preacher preach with care and meditation (I speak not of the vain scholastical manner of preaching, but soundly indeed, ordering the matter he handleth distinctly for memory, deducing and drawing it down for direction, and authorizing it with strong proofs and warrants), they censure it as a form of speaking not becoming the simplicity of the Gospel, and refer it to the reprehension of St. Paul, speaking of *the enticing speech of man's wisdom.*

Now for their own manner of teaching, what is it? Surely they exhort well, and work compunction of mind, and bring men well to the question, *Viri, fratres, quid agemus?* But that is not enough, except they resolve that question. They

handle matters of controversy weakly and *obiter*, and as before a people that will accept of anything. In doctrine of manners there is little but generality and repetition. The word (the *bread of life*) they toss up and down, they break it not. They draw not their directions down *ad casus conscientiæ*; that a man may be warranted in his particular actions whether they be lawful or not. Neither indeed are many of them able to do it, what through want of grounded knowledge, what through want of study and time. It is an easy and compendious thing to call for the observation of the Sabbath-day, or to speak against unlawful gain; but what actions and works may be done upon the Sabbath, and in what cases; and what courses of gain are lawful, and what not; to set this down, and to clear the whole matter with good distinctions and decisions, is a matter of great knowledge and labour, and asketh much meditation and conversation in the Scriptures, and other helps which God hath provided and preserved for instruction. Again, they carry not an equal hand in teaching the people their lawful liberty, as well as their restraints and prohibitions: but they think a man cannot go too far in that that hath a show of a commandment. They forget that there are *sins on the right hand, as well as on the left*; and that *the word is double-edged*, and cutteth on both sides, as well the superstitious observances as the profane transgressions. Who doubteth but it is as unlawful to shut where God hath opened, as to open where God hath shut? to bind where God hath loosed, as to loose where God hath bound? Amongst men it is commonly as ill taken to turn back favours as to disobey commandments. In this kind of zeal (for example) they have pronounced generally, and without difference, all untruths unlawful; notwithstanding that *the midwives* are directly reported to have been *blessed* for their excuse; and Rahab is said *by faith* to have concealed the spies; and Salomon's selected judgment proceeded upon a simulation; and our Saviour, the more to touch the hearts of the two disciples with a holy dalliance, made as if he would have passed Emmaus.[1] Further, I have heard some sermons of mortification, which I think (with very good meaning) they have preached out of their own experience and exercise, and things in private counsels not unmeet; but

[1] The two last clauses are omitted in the Bodleian MS. and are supplied from the others and from the 'Resuscitatio.'

surely no sound conceits; much like to Person's *Resolution*, or not so good; apt to breed in men rather weak opinions and perplexed despairs, than filial and true repentance which is sought. Another point of great inconvenience and peril, is to entitle the people to hear controversies and all points of doctrine. They say no part of the counsel of God must be suppressed, nor the people defrauded: so as the difference which the Apostle maketh between *milk and strong meat* is confounded: and his precept *that the weak be not admitted unto questions and controversies* taketh no place. But most of all is to be suspected, as a seed of further inconvenience, their manner of handling the Scriptures; for whilst they seek express Scripture for everything; and that they have (in manner) deprived themselves and the church of a special help and support by embasing the authority of the fathers; they resort to naked examples, conceited inferences, and forced allusions, such as do mine into all certainty of religion. Another extremity is the excessive magnifying of that which, though it be a principal and most holy institution, yet hath it limits as all things else have. We see wheresoever (in manner) they find in the Scriptures the *word* spoken of, they expound it of preaching. They have made it almost of the essence of the sacrament of the supper, to have a sermon precedent. They have (in sort) annihilated the use of liturgies, and forms of divine service,[1] although the house of God be denominated of the principal, *domus orationis*, a house of prayer, and not a house of preaching. As for the life of the good monks and the hermits in the primitive church, I know they will condemn a man as half a Papist, if he should maintain them as other than profane, because they heard no sermons. In the meantime, what preaching is, and who may be said to preach, they make no question. But as far as I see, every man that presumeth to speak in chair is accounted a preacher. But I am assured that not a few that call hotly for a preaching ministry deserve to be of the first themselves that should be expelled. These and some other errors and misproceedings they do fortify and entrench by being so greatly addicted to their opinions, and impatient[2] to

[1] In the Bodleian MS. the sentence ends here. The rest is supplied from the other MSS. and the 'Resuscitatio.'

[2] So the Bodleian MS. The other copies have "all which errors and misproceedings they do fortify and entrench by an addicted respect to their own opinions and an impatience to hear" etc.

hear contradiction or argument. Yea, I know some of them that would think it *a tempting of God* to hear or read what might be said against them; as if there could be a *quod bonum est tenete,* without an *omnia probate* going before.

This may suffice to offer unto themselves a view and consideration, whether in these things they do well or no, and to correct and assuage the partiality of their followers and dependants. For as for any man that shall hereby enter into a contempt of their ministry, it is but his own hardness of heart. I know the work of exhortation doth chiefly rest upon these men, and they have zeal and hate of sin. But again, let them take heed that it be not true which one of their adversaries said, *that they have but two small wants, knowledge and love.* And so I conclude this fourth point.

5. The last point, touching the due publishing and debating of these controversies, needeth no long speech. This strange abuse of antics and pasquils hath been touched before. So likewise I repeat that which I said before, that a character of love is more proper for debates of this nature than that of zeal. As for all indirect or direct glances or levels at men's persons, they were ever in these cases disallowed. Lastly, whatsoever be pretended, the people is no meet judge nor arbitrator, but rather the quiet, moderate, and private assemblies and conferences of the learned. *Qui apud incapacem loquitur, non disceptat, sed calumniatur.* The press and pulpit would be freed and discharged of these contentions. Neither promotion on the one side, nor glory and heat on the other, ought to continue those challenges and cartels at the Cross and other places. But rather all preachers, especially all such as be of good temper, and have wisdom with conscience, ought to inculcate and beat upon a peace, silence, and surseance. Neither let them fear Solon's law, which compelled in factions *every particular person to range himself on the one side;* nor yet the fond calumny of *neutrality;* but let them know that is true which is said by a wise man, that *neuters in contentions are either better or worse than either side.*

These things have I in all sincerity and simplicity set down, touching the controversies which now trouble the Church of England; and that without all art and insinuation, and therefore

not like to be grateful to either part. Notwithstanding, I trust what hath been said shall find a correspondence in their minds which are not embarked in partiality, and which love the whole better than a part. Whereby I am not out of hope that it may do good. At the least I shall not repent myself of the meditation.

7.

I have said that I do not know what use Bacon made of this paper; but I can hardly doubt that he showed it to Burghley and Walsingham, who would naturally concur in his views and wish to spread them. And I think it probable that this led to the employment of his pen in counteracting another evil consequence of these divisions; I mean the unfavourable interpretation which was likely to be put upon them abroad, especially in France, with regard to the stability and constancy of the Government. The progress of the French confusions had in the spring of 1589 thrown the King into the arms of the Protestant party, and he was now at war with the League and with Spain. "The world is marvellously changed," writes Burghley on the 27th of May,[1] "when we true Englishmen have cause, for our own quietness, to wish good success to a French king and a king of Scots; and yet they both differ one from the other in profession of Religion; but seeing both are enemies to our enemies, we have cause to join with them in these actions against our enemies; and this is the work of God for our good, for which the Queen and us all are most deeply bound to acknowledge his miraculous goodness, for no wit of man could otherwise have wrought it. At this time the French King's party, by the true subjects of his crown, both Catholic and Protestant, doth prosper in every place." The sympathy thus created between England and France in the latter months of Henry III.'s reign, ripened into a strict and cordial alliance when Henry of Navarre, himself a Protestant, succeeded to the throne; which was in the beginning of August, 1589. In this new crisis it was a matter of great importance to the common cause, that no needless distrust or prejudice should be excited against Elizabeth in the minds either of the Protestant or of the more moderate Catholic party in France, by her dealings with the religious parties in England; and some communication having been made to Walsingham on the subject from a gentleman connected with the French Government, it was resolved to improve the occasion by writing him a letter in which the true

[1] Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury: Lodge, vol. ii. p. 373.

course of her proceedings should be set forth and justified. Whether Bacon had anything to do with the suggestion of this measure, I cannot say; but that he was employed to make a draught of the proposed letter may be inferred from the circumstances which I am now going to explain.

I find in the 'Resuscitatio' the following letter from Bacon to Archbishop Whitgift.

TO MY LORD OF CANTERBURY.[1]

It may please your Grace;

I have considered the objections, perused the statutes, and framed the alterations, which I send; still keeping myself within the brevity of a letter and form of a narration; not entering into a form of argument or disputation: For in my poor conceit it is somewhat against the majesty of princes' actions to make too curious and striving apologies; but rather to set them forth plainly, and so as there may appear an harmony and constancy in them, so that one part upholdeth another. And so I wish your Grace all prosperity. From my poor lodging, this, etc.

Your Grace's most dutiful

Pupil and Servant.

This letter is without date; nor is there any note to explain the occasion on which it was written, or the nature of the enclosure which it seems to have conveyed. But upon a careful examination of the words it clearly appears,—

1st, that Bacon had previously submitted to Archbishop Whitgift, for consideration, the draft of some brief narrative in explanation of some of the Queen's actions.

2ndly, that the object of it was to justify what she had done; but that the justification was *implied* in a plain statement of the facts, without the help of arguments or apologies.

3rdly, that the justification rested upon the fact that her conduct had been consistent.

4thly, that the narrative included a reference to certain statutes.

5thly, that the paper had been sent back to him with some objections, and was now returned by him with alterations made by himself to meet them, but still in the same form.

[1] Resuscitatio, Supplement, p. 113.

If therefore a paper can be found answering this description in all points, and written when Whitgift was Archbishop of Canterbury and an active Privy Councillor, we may conclude (if not with absolute certainty yet with a probability almost amounting to certainty) that it was the paper referred to in the foregoing letter; not perhaps in exactly the same shape (for other alterations may have been introduced afterwards), but the same substantially.

Now precisely such a paper I do find in the *Scrinia Sacra;* that is to say, a letter addressed by Sir Francis Walsingham to an official person in France, containing an explanation in a narrative form of the Queen's proceedings towards the Catholics on the one hand and the Puritans on the other; framed expressly to show that her course had been consistent throughout; including a reference to two statutes; and written before the 6th of April, 1590 (the date of Walsingham's death), but not before 1589 (for it has an obvious allusion to the Marprelate libels); the greater part of which letter, I should add (as a circumstance which, taken along with the rest, may be considered conclusive), is also found almost word for word in Bacon's 'Observations on a Libel,' written in 1592. And here it follows:—

Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary, to Monsieur Critoy, Secretary of France.[1]

Sir,

Whereas you desire to be advertised touching the proceedings here in ecclesiastical causes, because you seem to note in them some inconstancy and variation, as if we sometimes inclined to one side and sometimes to another, and as if that clemency and lenity were not used of late which was used in the beginning; all which you impute to your own superficial understanding of the affairs of this state, having notwithstanding her Majesty's doings in singular reverence, as the real pledges which she hath given unto the world of her sincerity in religion and of her wisdom in government well meriteth; I am glad of this occasion to impart that little I know in that matter to you, both for your own satisfaction and to the end you may make use thereof towards any that shall not be so modestly and so reasonably minded as you are.

[1] Scrinia Sacra, ed. 1654, p. 38. Collated with another copy in Burnet's 'History of the Reformation,' vol. ii. p. 418, who describes it as a letter written by Walsingham, in French, to one Monsieur Critoy, a Frenchman; "of which (he says) I have seen an English copy, taken (as is said) from the original." Both these copies contain inaccuracies; but each helps to correct the other.

I find therefore[1] that her Majesty's proceedings have been grounded upon two principles:—

1. The one, that consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, with the aid of time and the use of all good means of instruction and persuasion.

2. The other, that the causes of conscience, when they exceed their bounds and grow to be matter of faction, lose their nature; and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish the practice or contempt, though coloured with the pretence of conscience and religion.

According to these principles, her Majesty at her coming to the Crown, utterly disliking the tyranny of Rome, which had used by terror and rigour to seek commandment of men's faiths and consciences, though as a Prince of great wisdom and magnanimity she suffered but the exercise of one religion, yet her proceeding towards the Papists was with great lenity, expecting the good effects which time might work in them. And therefore her Majesty revived not the laws made in the twenty-eighth and thirty-fifth year of her Father's reign, whereby the oath of allegiance might have been offered at the King's pleasure to any subject, though he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself; and the refusal to take the same oath without further circumstance was made treason. But contrariwise her Majesty, not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts or affirmations, tempered her law so as it restraineth only manifest disobedience, in impugning and impeaching advisedly and maliciously her Majesty's supreme power, and maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction. And as for the oath, it was altered by her Majesty into a more grateful form; the harshness of the name and appellation of Supreme Head was removed, and the penalty of the refusal thereof turned only into disablement to take any promotion or to exercise any charge; and yet with liberty of being re-invested therein if any man should accept thereof during his life. But after, when Pius Quintus had excommunicated her Majesty, and the Bulls of Excommunication were published in London, whereby her Majesty was in a sort

[1] The whole passage which follows, down to "adhere to her enemies," was afterwards incorporated, with a few slight variations and insertions, into Bacon's 'Observations on a Libel,' 1592.

proscribed; and that thereupon as upon a principal motive or preparative followed the rebellion in the North; yet because the ill humours of the realm were by that rebellion partly purged, and that she feared at that time no foreign invasion, and much less the attempt of any within the realm not backed by some potent succour from without, she contented herself to make a law against that special case of bringing in or publishing of any Bulls or the like instruments; whereunto was added a prohibition, upon pain not of treason but of an inferior degree of punishment, against the bringing in of *Agnus Dei*, hallowed beads, and such other merchandise of Rome, as are well known not to be any essential part of the Romish religion, but only to be used in practice as love-tokens to enchant the people's affections from their allegiance to their natural Sovereign. In all other points her Majesty continued her former lenity. But when about the twentieth year of her reign she had discovered in the King of Spain an intention to invade her dominions, and that a principal point of the plot was to prepare a party within the realm that might adhere to the foreigner, and that the seminaries began to blossom and to send forth daily priests and professed men, who should by vow taken at shrift reconcile her subjects from their obedience, yea and bind many of them to attempt against her Majesty's sacred person; and that by the poison which they spread the humours of most Papists were altered, and that they were no more Papists in conscience and of softness, but Papists in faction; then were there new laws made for the punishment of such as should submit themselves to such reconcilements or renunciations of obedience. And because it was a treason carried in the clouds and in wonderful secrecy, and came seldom to light, and that there was no presumption thereof so great as the recusance to come to divine service; because it was set down by their decrees that to come to church before reconcilement was to live in schism, but to come to church after reconcilement was absolutely heretical and damnable; therefore there were added new laws containing a punishment pecuniary against such recusants, not to enforce conscience, but to enfeeble and impoverish the means of those to whom it rested indifferent and ambiguous whether they were reconciled or no. And when, notwithstanding all this provision, this poison was dispersed so secretly as that there was no means to stay it but by restraining the merchants

that brought it in, then lastly there was added another law whereby such seditious priests of the new erection were exiled, and those that were at that time within the land shipped over, and so commanded to keep hence upon pain of treason.

This hath been the proceeding with that sort, though intermingled not only with sundry examples of her Majesty's grace towards such as in her wisdom she knew to be Papists in conscience and not in faction, but also with an ordinary mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree convicted by law, if they would but protest that in case this realm should be invaded with a foreign army by the Pope's authority, for the Catholic cause, as they term it, they would take party with her Majesty and not adhere to her enemies.

For the other part, which have been offensive to this state, though in another degree; which named themselves Reformers, and we commonly call Puritans; this hath been the proceeding towards them. A great while, when they inveighed against such abuses in the church as pluralities, non-residence, and the like, their zeal was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured; when they refused the use of some ceremonies and rites as superstitious, they were tolerated with much connivency and gentleness; yea when they called in question the superiority of bishops, and pretended to bring a democracy into the church, yet their propositions were heard, considered, and by contrary writings debated and discussed. Yet all this while it was perceived that their course was dangerous and very popular. As because Papistry was odious, therefore it was ever in their mouths that they sought to purge the church from the relics of Popery; a thing acceptable to the people, who love ever to run from one extreme to another. Because multitudes of rogues and poverty were an eyesore and dislike to every man, therefore they put it into the people's head that if discipline were planted, there should be no beggars nor vagabonds; a thing very plausible. And in like manner they promised the people may other impossible wonders of their discipline. Besides, they opened the people a way to government by their consistory and presbytery; a thing though in consequence no less prejudicial to the liberties of private men than to the sovereignty of princes, yet in the first show very popular. Nevertheless this (except it were in some few that entered into extreme contempt) was borne with, because they pre-

tended but in dutiful manner to make propositions, and to leave it to the providence of God and the authority of the magistrate. But now of late years, when there issued from them a colony of those that affirmed the consent of the magistrate was not to be attended; when, under pretence of a consession to avoid slanders and imputations, they combined themselves by classes and subscriptions; when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing the government of the church by ridiculous pasquils; when they began to make many subjects in doubt to take an oath, which is one of the fundamental parts of justice in this land and in all places; when they began both to vaunt of the strength and number of their partisans and followers, and to use comminations that their cause would prevail though with uproar and violence; then it appeared to be no more zeal, no more conscience, but mere faction and division; and therefore, though the state were compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restrain them than before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the church and state could permit. And therefore, Sir, to conclude, consider uprightly of these matters, and you shall see her Majesty is no temporizer in religion. It is not the success abroad, nor the change of servants here at home, can alter her; only as the things themselves alter, so she applieth her religious wisdom to methods correspondent unto them; still retaining the two rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with consciences and yet in discovering faction from conscience and softness from singularity. Farewell.

Your loving Friend,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

If this letter was really drawn up by Bacon (of which, for the reasons above-stated, I have myself no doubt), it is interesting as the earliest specimen we have of his taste, judgment, and policy in conducting the defence of the government against popular imputations; the best policy, provided only that the *case* of the government be good enough to bear it. It is to be remembered indeed that it was not written in his own name, and that his was not the last judgment which was to be satisfied. Whitgift as well as Walsingham had a strong personal interest in the matter, nor did he want either authority or opportunity to correct his old pupil's exercise. If the original manuscript should ever be discovered, I think traces will be found

here and there, but especially towards the end of the last sentence but two, where the style and the logic both halt a little, of the Primate's hand. In the main however, it bears both in conception and execution all the marks of Bacon's characteristic manner.

I have connected it with the "Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church," because the subjects being so nearly related one employment may have suggested the other. But there is another way in which this latter task may have fallen naturally to Bacon. His brother Anthony was still in France, carrying on an active correspondence with many eminent persons there, and also with Walsingham at home. It is not at all unlikely that M. Critoy's communication came to Walsingham through his and his brother's hands; in which case the rest would follow naturally. Who this M. Critoy was I have not been able to learn; but this is not material, except in so far as it might help to fix the exact date. The letter explains itself, and has the same value for us, to whomsoever addressed.

It may be worth observing that, though the view here taken of the Queen's proceedings towards the *Catholics*, is the same which Bacon maintained to the end of his life, and took pains to impress upon posterity (see the 'In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ,' Works, vi. p. 298), yet with regard to the policy of her dealing with the *Puritans*, (except on one occasion, where he denies that breaches of the law and disturbances of church and state on that side had been allowed to go unpunished[1]), he was, so far as I know, silent. And the truth I take to be that, after the year 1590, he could not have said that her proceedings towards them had been "with as great moderation as the peace of the church and state would permit."

8.

From this time till the latter part of 1591, I find no other composition of Bacon's; nor any important piece of news concerning him, except the following entry in a note-book of Burghley's (Cott. MSS. Tit. C. X. 93), dated October 29th, 1589:—"A grant of the office of the Clerk of the Counsel in the Star Chamber to Francis Bacon."[2] It was procured for him by Burghley, and the office was a valuable

[1] Observations on a Libel: see next chapter.

[2] The copy of Burghley's diary printed in Murdin gives the same date, except that the day of the month is omitted. The patent itself however, of which a copy is preserved in the Record Office, is dated the 16th of November, in the thirty-second year of Elizabeth's reign, which would be the 16th of November, 1590; though, the 16th of November being the first day of the regnal year, it is a case in which a misdate might easily occur. The 17th of November, 32 Eliz., was the 17th of November, 1589.

one; worth £1600 a year, and executed by deputy. It was only the reversion however that was granted to him, which did not fall in for twenty years.

Occasional allusions in his brother's correspondence show that he continued as before at Gray's Inn, but tell us little or nothing of his occupations. During this interval however it must have been that he became acquainted with the Earl of Essex; an acquaintance which had so great an influence upon his after-life, that what I have to say concerning the commencement of it may fitly open a new chapter.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1590–92. ÆTAT. 30–32.

1.

WHEN, or under what circumstances, the acquaintance between Bacon and the Earl of Essex *began*, I cannot exactly learn. In his brother's papers I find no allusion to it earlier than February 1591-2, by which time it had ripened into intimacy;[1] and since Essex had been engaged in France during the latter half of 1591, as commander of the forces sent to assist Henry IV., the commencement of the acquaintance cannot well be dated later than the preceding July. Essex was then twenty-three, and had been for some years high in the Queen's favour. In 1585 and 1586, he had served with distinction under the Earl of Leicester in Holland. In 1587 the Queen had made him her Master of the Horse. In 1588, on occasion of the Spanish invasion, she had appointed him General of the Horse. In 1589, when he returned from the expedition to Portugal in aid of Don Antonio, which he had joined against her orders, she had received him, in spite of his disobedience, with greater favour than ever. Had this been all, a man in Bacon's position could not but be glad of his friendship, and their common relation to Burghley (to whose guardianship Essex had been especially bequeathed by his father on his deathbed) would naturally bring them together. But the attraction which drew them towards each other was not of that ordinary kind. Bacon had many things at heart besides the advancement of his own fortune; and there was promise in Essex of something far greater than ascendancy in the Queen's favour. Except Sir Philip Sidney, no man had appeared on that stage who seemed so likely, if he attained great power, to make a great use of it; especially in those things which Bacon was most anxious about, but for which he had little reason to expect encouragement in high places. How to steer the State through the dangers and difficulties of the present time, none knew better then Walsingham and Burghley; whose skill and policy, along with their offices, Robert Cecil seemed destined to in-

[1] See Birch's Memoirs, i. 73, and Bacon's Apology.

herit. How to maintain the dignity of the Crown, the greatness of the kingdom, and the authority of the existing laws,—how to attract, attach, and use the ablest servants both for peace and war,—no one knew better than the Queen herself. But her cares did not extend beyond her own people and her own times. Though one of the greatest of governors, she was no great legislator. Though one of the most learned of women, she was no great patroness of learning, except where (as in the church and the law) she wanted it for an instrument to govern with. Though the champion of Protestantism, and without any shade of religious bigotry, she took no care to provide for the spiritual wants of the next generation, by making room within the church for those varieties of opinion which the spirit of Protestantism was sure to develope. Though a reverencer of the laws herself, and well aware that the reverence of the people for the laws was the foundation and life of government, she took but little interest in projects for the reformation of them, by correcting abuses, removing uncertainties, simplifying complexities, and settling principles. Whatever savoured of 'speculation' she regarded with indifference or distrust, as a disqualification for practical service. And as for the recovery to Man of his lost dominion over Nature by means of Knowledge, she had enough to do in maintaining the dominion of England within its own shores by means of vigilance and state-policy. Neither to her therefore nor to her ministers could Bacon have looked for much encouragement in the prosecution of those larger reforms in philosophy, in letters, in church, in state, upon which his mind was brooding, and which he certainly believed to be practicable if the Government would take them in hand.

But the rise of a man like Essex, offered a new and unexpected chance. He was a man of so many gifts and so many virtues, that even now, when his defects and the issue to which they carried him are fully known, it still seems possible that under more favourable accidents he might have realized all the promise of his morning: then it must have seemed more than possible. From his boyhood he had been an eager reader and a patient listener. The first year after he left Cambridge he spent happily in studious retirement. His knowledge was already considerable, his literary abilities great, his views liberal and comprehensive, his speech persuasive, his respect for intellectual qualifications in other men earnest and unaffected. His religious impressions were deep, and without being addicted to any of the religious parties in the state, he had points of sympathy with them all. His temper was hopeful, ardent, enterprising; his will strong, his opinions decided; yet he was at the same time singularly patient of oppugnant advice, and liked it the better the more frankly

it was given. He had that true generosity of nature which appeals to all human hearts, because it feels an interest in all human things; and which made him a favourite, without any aid from dissimulations and plausibilities, at once with the people, the army, and the Queen. A character rare at all times and in all places; most rare in such a station as he seemed destined thus early to occupy; and promising fruits proportionably rare, if it might only escape the dangers incident to an over-forward season. It was easy for Bacon to see that here was a man capable by nature of entering heartily into all his largest speculations for the good of the world, and placed by accident in a position to realize, or help to realize, them. It was natural to hope that he would do it. The favourite of a mighty Queen, herself the favourite of a mighty nation; with a heart for all that was great, noble, and generous; an ear open to all freest and faithfullest counsel; an understanding to apprehend and appreciate all wisdom; an imagination great enough to entertain new hopes for the human race; without any shadow of bigotry or narrowness; without any fault as yet apparent, except a chivalrous impetuosity of character; the very grace of youth, and the very element out of which, when tempered by time and experience, all moral greatness and all extraordinary and enterprising virtue derive their vital energy; in times when the recent agitations of society had stirred men's minds to hope and dare, and exercised them in all kinds of active enterprise; he must have seemed in the eyes of Bacon like the hope of the world. We need not seek any further surely, to account for the attachment which soon sprang up between the two. The proffered friendship and confidence of such a man—what could Bacon do but embrace it as frankly as it was offered? Such a friend and counsellor seemed to be the one thing which such a spirit stood in need of. If Essex seemed like a man expressly made to realize the hopes of a new world, so Bacon may seem to have been expressly made for the guardian genius of such a man as Essex. And thus their acquaintance began, about the time at which we are now arrived; in 1590, probably, or the early part of 1591. For "I held at that time," wrote Bacon fourteen years after, "my Lord to be the fittest instrument to do good to the state; and therefore I applied myself to him in a manner which I think happeneth rarely among men; for I did not only labour carefully and industriously in that he set me about, whether it were matter of advice or otherwise; but neglecting the Queen's service, mine own fortune, and in a sort my vocation, I did nothing but advise and ruminate with myself to the best of my understanding, propositions and memorials of anything that might concern his Lordship's honour, fortune, or service. And when, not long after I had entered into this course, my brother,

master Anthony Bacon, came from beyond the seas, being a gentleman whose ability the world taketh knowledge of for matters of state specially foreign, I did likewise knit his service to be at my Lord's disposing."[1]

Anthony Bacon arrived in England in the beginning of 1592: and was met by his friend Nicholas Faunt with a letter from his mother (dated February 3rd[2]), full of maternal welcome and advice, while his brother was preparing his chambers in Gray's Inn to receive him. He was in very bad health; crippled with gout; but well furnished with information concerning foreign affairs, gathered during his ten years' residence abroad, and kept alive by an extensive correspondence with able intelligencers in different parts of Europe; the benefit of which, hitherto enjoyed by Burghley, he not long after transferred to Essex.

2.

In the meantime Francis's plans with regard to his own fortune remained the same; but unhappily the prospect of realizing them did not improve. He had just completed his thirty-first year. He had been a Bencher of his Inn for nearly five years, a Reader for nearly three; but I do not find that he was getting into practice. His main object still was to find ways and means for prosecuting his great philosophical enterprise; his hope and wish still was to obtain these by some office under the Government, from which he might derive both position in the world which would carry influence, employment in the State which would enable him to serve his country in her need, and income sufficient for his purposes,—without spending all his time in professional drudgery. Nearly six years had passed since his last application to Burghley (the last which we know of), and his hopes were no nearer their accomplishment. The clerkship of the Star Chamber did not help; for it was not in possession nor likely to be for many years; it was but as "another man's ground buttailing upon his house; which might mend his prospect but did not fill his barn."[3] It has been said indeed that before this time the Queen had appointed him "one of her counsel learned extraordinary;" but even if this be true (which, from the absence of all contemporary allusions to a distinction so unusual, I doubt), it does not alter the case; for whether he obtained it sooner or later, it was an honour only, without any emolument appertaining.[4] The

[1] Apology.
[2] Lambeth MSS. 653. 192. A copy of it will be given a little further on.
[3] His own expression, as given by Rawley (Works, i. p. 7).
[4] The best authority for dating this appointment so early is the expression used by Dr. Rawley in the Latin version of his Life of Bacon, which was published

entrance upon a new decade reminded him of the swiftness of time and the slowness of his fortune, and suggested a fresh remembrance to Burghley of his hopes and objects; the rather, perhaps, because, with such a friend at Court as Essex, there was now a fresh chance of favourable entertainment for them. The following letter needs no further elucidation; and as I have no means of determining the date of it, except from the allusion it contains to his 'thirty-one years,' I place it here at the point when he entered upon his thirty-second.

TO MY LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.[1]

My Lord,

With as much confidence as mine own honest and faithful devotion unto your service and your honourable correspondence unto me and my poor estate can breed in a man, do I commend myself unto your Lordship. I wax now somewhat ancient; one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour-glass. My health, I thank God, I find confirmed; and I do not fear that action shall impair it, because I account my ordinary course of study and meditation to be more painful than most parts of action are. I ever bare a mind (in some middle place that I could discharge) to serve her Majesty; not as a man born under Sol, that loveth honour; nor under Jupiter, that loveth business (for the contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly); but as a man born under an excellent Sovereign, that deserveth the dedication of all men's abilities. Besides, I do not find in myself so much self-love, but that the greater parts of my thoughts are to deserve well (if I were able) of my friends, and namely of your Lordship; who being the Atlas of this commonwealth, the honour of my house, and the second founder of my poor estate, I am tied by all duties, both of a good patriot, and of an unworthy kinsman, and of an obliged servant, to employ whatsoever I am to do you service. Again, the meanness of my estate doth somewhat move me: for though I cannot accuse myself that I am

after the English one, and occasionally differs from it. "*Nondum tyrocinium in lege egressus*, a regina in consilium suum doctum extraordinarium adscitus est." But this may possibly have been an inference drawn from Bacon's Letter to Burghley of the 18th of October, 1580 (see p. 13), of which Dr. Rawley did not know the date. I am told also that in legal phraseology a barrister's *tyrocinium* continues until he is called to be a Serjeant; and that Rawley may only have meant that Bacon was made a Q.C. without being first made a Serjeant. Rawley however was a scholar and not a lawyer, and I am inclined to think that he used the word in its classical sense. The import of the word *extraordinary* he evidently misunderstood. See Works, i. 5, note 3.

[1] Rawley's 'Resuscitatio,' Supplement, p. 95.

either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend, nor my course to get. Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province. This, whether it be curiosity, or vain glory, or nature, or (if one take it favourably) *philanthropia*, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed. And I do easily see, that place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than of a man's own; which is the thing I greatly affect. And for your Lordship, perhaps you shall not find more strength and less encounter in any other. And if your Lordship shall find now, or at any time, that I do seek or affect any place whereunto any that is nearer unto your Lordship shall be concurrent, say then that I am a most dishonest man. And if your Lordship will not carry me on, I will not do as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself with contemplation unto voluntary poverty: but this I will do; I will sell the inheritance that I have, and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over all care of service, and become some sorry book-maker, or a true pioner in that mine of truth, which (he said) lay so deep. This which I have writ unto your Lordship is rather thoughts than words, being set down without all art, disguising, or reservation. Wherein I have done honour both to your Lordship's wisdom, in judging that that will be best believed of your Lordship which is truest, and to your Lordship's good nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even so I wish your Lordship all happiness, and to myself means and occasion to be added to my faithful desire to do you service. From my lodging at Gray's Inn.

3.

The two brothers were now established under the same roof in Gray's Inn, where they lived on the most affectionate and confidential footing; Anthony, in spite of his continued ill-health, taking an earnest interest in foreign affairs, and carrying on an active inter-

course by letter with his correspondents abroad; Francis busy with his law and philosophy and home politics, yet continually consulted by his brother on all questions of importance; each always ready to help the other to the utmost of his power with money, credit, or advice. Living thus together, and seeing each other every day, it was only now and then (as when one of them visited his mother at Gorhambury, or retreated for quiet and fresh air to Twickenham Park, where Francis had a lodge) that they had occasion to communicate by letter. But Lady Bacon was continually writing: and a great number of her letters (directed to Anthony, but addressed generally to both) are preserved among the Tenison MSS. at Lambeth. These throw a very full light upon her own character, and upon the relations which subsisted between her and her sons; a relation too important at this period of Francis's life to be lost sight of; for the feelings of such a mother, whether in approbation or disapprobation, could not but enter into his consideration, even where they did not determine his course. But to understand this relation rightly, it is necessary to know her as well as him: and with a view to this, it will be worth while to quote some passages of the correspondence in which he is not directly alluded to.

I have already introduced her addressing Lord Burghley on matters of church and state. I shall now show her in a less constrained mood, under the agitations of maternal anxiety. It seems that Anthony Bacon, seeking on all sides for intelligence concerning parties and political intrigues abroad, had used the services of Catholics as well as Protestants; and among others had a confidential servant named Lawson, whose religion was suspected. Him he had sent over to Lord Burghley with some advertisements, which it was important to deliver safely and secretly. Lady Bacon, a vehement anti-Catholic, suspecting his fidelity and dreading the effect of such company upon her son's faith and morals, prevailed upon Burghley to have him arrested and detained in England. Anthony, hearing of this, sent his friend Francis Allen, a frankhearted, plain-spoken soldier, to intercede for him both with Burghley and his mother; that he might be allowed to return. Burghley seems to have been willing, for he wrote a letter to Lady Bacon on the subject; with which Captain Allen proceeded to Gorhambury. The rest he shall tell himself.

"Upon my arrival at Godombery my Lady used me courteously until such time I began to move her for Mr. Lawson; and, to say the truth, for yourself; being so much transported with your abode there that she let not to say that you are a traitor to God and your country; you have undone her; you seek her death; and when you have that you seek for, you shall have but a hundred pounds more than you have now.

"She is resolved to procure her Majesty's letter to force you to return; and when that should be, if her Majesty give you your right or desert, she should clap you up in prison. She cannot abide to hear of you, as she saith, nor of the other especially, and told me plainly she should be the worse this month for my coming without you, and axed me why you could not have come from thence as well as myself.

"She saith you are hated of all the chiefest on that side, and cursed of God in all your actions, since Mr. Lawson's being with you.

"I am sorry to write it, considering his deserts and your love towards him; but the truth will be known at the last, and better late than never; it is vain to look for Mr. Lawson's return, for these are her Ladyship's own words:—'No, no,' saith she, 'I have learned not to employ ill to good; and if there were no more men in England, and although you should never come home, he shall never come to you.' . . . .

"It is as unpossible to persuade my Lady to send him as for myself to send you Paul's steeple. . . . .

"I must confess your brother, Mr. Francis Bacon, is most tractable and most earnest, if possible it may be done, to fulfil your demand: he hath used me with great humanity, for which I humbly pray you to give him thanks.

"My Lady seemed to be angry with me because I had brought this bearer Guilliaum from you, saying you had but one honest and trusty man, and I had deboshed him from you; which is cause I have taken resolution to send him to you again; I send him not more willingly than he is willing to return.

"Mr. Lawson is in great necessity, and your brother dares not help him, in respect of my Lady's displeasure. . . . .

"My Lady said she had rather you made the wars with the King of Navarre than to have staid so long idle in Montoban, and with great earnestness, also tears in her eyes, she wished that when she heard of Mr. Selum's imprisonment you had been fairly buried, provided you had died in the Lord. In my simple judgment she spoke it in her passion, and repented immediately her words.

"When you have received your provision, make your repair home again, lest you be a means to shorten her days, for she told me the grief of mind received daily by your stay will be her end; also saith her jewels be spent for you, and that she borrowed the last money of seven several persons.

"Thus much I must confess unto you for a conclusion, that I have never seen nor never shall see a wise Lady, an honourable woman, a mother, more perplexed for her son's absence than I have seen that honourable dame for yours.—Therefore lay your hand on your heart, look not for Mr. Lawson; here he hath, as a man may say, heaven and earth against him and his return.

"If you think much of my plainness, take heed you give me no authority another time; for I shall do the like.

"F. Allen.[1]

"The 17th August, 1589."

[1] Lamb. MSS., No. 647. fo. 111.

Burghley's letter, and another in the same behalf from Francis Bacon, she "would not once vouchsafe to look upon;" and when Anthony returned at last, more than two years after, Lawson appears to have been still in England, and Lady Bacon's feelings towards him unaltered. The letter with which she dispatched Nicholas Faunt, her son's Puritan friend, to greet him on his arrival, will throw some further light upon the character of this remarkable woman.

"The grace of God be daily multiplied in you, with mercy in Christ our Lord.

"That you are returned now at length I am right glad. God bless it to us both. But when I heard withal that Lawson, who I fore-suspected, stale hence unto you, and so belike hath wrought upon you again to your hurt, to serve his own turn as heretofore; how welcome that could be to your long-grieved mother, judge you. I can hardly say whether your gout or his company were the worse tidings. I have entertained this gentleman, Mr. Fant, to do so much kindness for me as to journey towards you, because your brother is preparing your lodging at Gray's Inn very carefully for you. I thank God that Mr. Fant was willing so to do, and was very glad, because he is not only an honest gentleman in civil behaviour, but one that feareth God indeed, and as wise withal, having experience of our state, and is able to advise you both very wisely and friendly. For he loveth yourself, and needeth not yours, as others have and yet dis ....[1] with you. He doth me pleasure in this, for I could not have found another so very meet for you and me in all the best and most necessary respects. Use him therefore, good son, and make much of such, and of their godly and sound friendly counsel. This one chiefest counsel your Christian and natural mother doth give you even before the Lord, that above all worldly respects you carry yourself ever at your first coming as one that doth unfeignedly profess the true religion of Christ, and hath the love of the truth now by long continuance fast settled in your heart, and that with judgment, wisdom, and discretion, and are not afraid or ashamed to testify the same by hearing and delighting in those religious exercises of the sincerer sort, be they French or English. *In hoc noli adhibere fratrem tuum ad consilium aut exemplum. Sed plus dehinc.* If you will be wavering (which God forbid, God forbid), you shall have examples and ill encouragers too many in these days, and that *apeh* Bισσ, since he was *βουλευτὴς, ἐστὶ ἀπολεία τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεθ' ἡμῶν, φιλεῖ γὰρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν πλέον τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*[2] Beware, therefore, and be constant in godly profession without fainting, and that from your heart: for formality wanteth none with us, but too common. Be not speedy of speech nor talk suddenly, but where discretion requireth, and that soberly then. For the property of our world is to sound out at first coming, and

[1] The rest of this word is illegible: perhaps *dissembls.*

[2] That archbishop (meaning Whitgift), since he was councillor, is the destruction of our church, for he loves his own glory more than the glory of Christ.

after to contain. Courtesy is necessary, but too common familiarity in talking and words is very unprofitable, and not without hurt-taking, *ut nunc sunt tempora*. Remember you have no father. And you have little enough, if not too little, regarded your kind and no simple mother's wholesome advice from time to time. And as I do impute all most humbly to the grace of God whatsoever he hath bestowed upon me, so dare I affirm that it had been good for you every way if you had followed it long ere this. But God is the same, who is able to heal both mind and body, whom in Christ I beseech to be your merciful father and to take care of you, guiding you with his holy and most comfortable spirit, now and ever.

"Let not Lawson, that fox, be acquainted with my letters. I disdain both it and him. He commonly opened underminingly all letters sent to you from counsel or friends. I know it, and you may too much, if God open your eyes as I trust he will. Send it back, to be sure, by Mr. Fant sealed; but he will pry and prattle. So fare you well, and the Lord bless you and keep you for ever.

"Your mother,

"3 Febr." "A. Bacon.

"I trust you, with your servants, use prayer twice in a day, having been where reformation is.[1] Omit it not for any. It will be your best credit to serve the Lord duly and reverently, and you will be observed at the first now. Your brother is too negligent herein, but do you well and zealously; it will be looked for of the best learned sort, and that is best."[2]

The rest of Lady Bacon's letters (of which I have copies of ten or twelve, written within the next six months) all exhibit the same tender and anxious affection, the same fervid piety, the same proneness to suspect everybody about her son of preying upon him and abusing his simplicity and inexperience; the same irritable jealousy with regard to her own maternal authority; curiously mixed with little solicitudes about his physic, his diet, his hours of sleeping, waking, and going abroad, and all his smaller household arrangements. Thus on the 28th of February,[3] after some advice as to sales and leases:—

"God send you above all his true fear in your heart, and health to do your long discontinued duty to her Majesty and your country. I pray you be careful and keep good diet and order. It is here marvellous cold and sharp: too sharp yet for you, I think. . . . I would gladly you had well seen her Majesty; but be in some good state of health first, and regard it carefully for any. . . . Look well to your servants and to your own things."

On the 2nd of March:[4]

"I cannot go hence as I thought, . . . and would gladly hear how all things go with you. I wrote lately unto you. Believe not every one that

[1] Anthony Bacon had stayed some time at Geneva.
[2] Lambeth MSS. 653. 192. Original: all in her own hand.
[3] Lambeth MSS. 648. 4. [4] Lambeth MSS. 648. 7.

speaks fair to you at your first coming. It is to serve their turn.... Regard your health and serve the Lord in truth."

On the 17th of May:[1]

"I send to know how you do. For myself I am but *languescens*, but in good cheer and comfort, I thank God. The good man Rolff, my tenant at Burston, but lately recovered, is desirous to see you. He is an honest man and a kind tenant, and of discretion and dealing. I sent my man Bury to direct him, and to see you and your brother how it is with you both. I humbly thank God for the comfortable company of Mr. Wyborne and Wylblud.[2] Those may greatly be afraid of God his displeasure which work the woeful disappointing of God his work in his vineyard, by putting such to silence in these bold shining days. *Haud impune ferent*, come when it shall.... Think on yourself wisely. Be not overruled still by subtle and hurtful hangers-on."

On the 24th of May:[3]

"Gratia et salus. That you increase in amending I am glad. God continue it every way. When you cease of your prescribed diet, you had need, I think, to be very wary both of your sudden [change] of quantity and of season of your feeding; specially suppers late or full. Procure rest in convenient time. It helpeth much to digestion. I verily think your brother's weak stomach to digest hath been much caused and confirmed by untimely going to bed, and then musing *nescio quid* when he should sleep, and then in consequent by late rising and long lying in bed: whereby his men are made slothful and himself continueth sickly. But my sons haste not to hearken to their mother's good counsel in time to prevent. The Lord our heavenly Father heal and bless you both as his sons in Christ Jesu. I promise you touching your coach, if it be so to your contentation, it was not wisdom to have it seen or known at the Court: you shall be so much pressed to lend, and your man for gain so ready to agree, that the discommodity thereof will be as much as the commodity.... Let not your men see my letter. I write to you and not to them."

Again, on the 29th of May:[4]

"I am glad and thank God of your amendment. But my man said he heard you rose at three of the clock. I thought that was not well. So suddenly from bedding much to rise so early; newly out of your diet. Extremities be hurtful to whole, more to the sickly.... Be wise and godly too, and discern what is good and what not for your health.... I like not your lending your coach yet to any Lord or Lady. If you once begin, you shall hardly end.... It was not well it was so soon sent into the Court, to make talk and at last be procured or misliked. Tell your brother I counsel you to send it no more. What had my Lady Shreifess to borrow your coach?"

[1] Lambeth MSS. 648. 103.
[2] Two of the suspended preachers.
[3] Lambeth MSS. 648. 106.
[4] Lambeth MSS. 648. 110.

On the 29th of June:[1]

"If you deal with Elsdon, be very well advised. . . . These days are full of fraud. My man said you wished to have strawberries to gift. I have sent I think all there be, and this day gathered. . . . I send them by the boy of my kitchen, a shrewd-witted boy and prettily catechized, but yet an untoward crafty boy . . . I look for him again at night. I pray you stay him not. He is able enough to do it, God willing: do not pity, it will make him worse. If you give him 6*d.* of your own self, it is too much. . . . It is here very hot indeed. Let not your men drink wine this hot weather; nor your brother's neither, tell him. Divers sick of hot agues. God keep us sound in the faith and send us health and a care to please God above all. . . . I thank your brother for Mr. Wylblud. Much good may he do for such, and take no hurt by the others I pray God. Impart this, because I mean to both my letter."

On the 6th of July:[2]

"I pray God you have done well and wisely. I fear you have yielded to that which was first shot at, I mean Barley.[3] . . . I am sorry for it, and must needs be worse for you as I yet can think. . . . The uppermost strawberries are good to be eaten, and were more choicely gathered for that purpose, for you or your brother. The Lord direct you both with his holy spirit, and bless you."

On the 24th of July:[4]

"I thank you for your letter; but I understand not one chief point, nor do not desire yet; but you had need be very circumspect and wise. . . . I assure you I ask not nor know not where Lawson is, but this I counsel: be very wary that his very subtle and working head work not your cumber. You have been long absent, and by your sickliness cannot be your own agent, and so, wanting right judgment of our state, may be much deceived. That which you did for the merchants was scantly well taken, and fell not out as you looked. And I remember once you dealt with ———;[5] I wot not now wherefore, it is a good while since, but both envy and also dislike did appear: some doubting your soundness in religion, you were so great with some such great Papists then. Have a sure warrant and ground, lest you may purchase encumbrance without good success, contrary to your expectation. Be not too bold with *κυριῳ θησαυραριῳ*. Lose not his *φιλιαν*. You know what I mean. . . . Be not overcredulous nor too open. *Sub omni lapide latet anguis.* Get health to serve God and your country as he shall enable and call you. . . . Be not too forward in state matters. Wise have withdrawn *hisce diebus.* . . . This Monday one brought hither for you from Mr. Gray dozen ½ pigeons, whereof I send you the dozen, . . . which I send all by Peter my cook. I would your brother's cook were like him in Christian behaviour; and yet a young man and merry. Give him a shilling, because he had good will to carry them on foot."

[1] Lambeth MSS. 648. 109.
[2] Lambeth MSS. 648. 122.
[3] An estate of Anthony Bacon's.
[4] Lambeth MSS. 648. 120.
[5] I cannot read the name.

4.

These few passages, selected as fair samples, are enough to give an idea of the woman; a better idea perhaps than could be derived from more studied compositions on subjects less ordinary. For here we not only have her words just as they came to her pen and would have come to her tongue, but we see her in a relation which everybody can thoroughly understand. The relation between the sovereign and the subject, or the Church and her members, changes as creeds and constitutions change, till at the distance of a few generations it becomes impossible to conceive it correctly without some power of imagination as well as much knowledge of the facts. But the relation between the mother and the son remains substantially the same; and Lady Bacon's affections, dispositions, manners, and temper, reveal themselves through her maternal solicitudes, serious and trivial, as clearly as if it were to-day: an affectionate, vehement, fiery, grave, and religious soul, just beginning to fail where such natures commonly fail first, in the power of self-command: in creed a Calvinist, in morals a Puritan. Of the letters which must for many years have been continually passing between her and Francis, only two or three have been preserved. But if we would understand his position, we must not forget that he had a mother of this character and temper living within a few hours' ride of his chambers, anxiously watching over his proceedings, and by advice or authority continually interfering in his affairs.

The first of his letters to her which I have met with, is dated the 18th of February, 1591-2. It appears to be either the rough draft or a copy, written by himself in a great hurry, and preserved among his brother's papers. I know nothing more of the matter to which it relates; and need only remind the reader that in those days, when a subject holding land of the Crown by feudal tenure died during the minority of his heir, the Crown had the use of the property (subject only to the expenses of maintenance and education) until the heir came of age; that the Crown would sometimes make over this office, with the rights and duties appertaining, to a private person, by way of favour; and that Lord Burghley was at this time Master of the Wards.

To LADY BACON.[1]

Madam,

Alderman Haywood is deceased this night; his eldest son is fallen ward. My Lord Treasurer doth not for the most part

[1] Lambeth MSS. 648. 5. Draft, or copy, in Francis Bacon's own hand.

hastily dispose of wards. It were worth the obtaining, if it were but in respect of the widow, who is a gentlewoman much commended. Your Ladyship hath never had any ward of my Lord. It was too early for my brother to begin with a suit to my Lord before he had seen his Lordship. And for me, I do at this time reserve my Lord to be my friend with the Queen. It may please your Ladyship to move my Lord, and to promise to be thankful to any other my Lord oweth pleasure unto. There would be no time lost herein. And so I most humbly take my leave. From my lodging, this 18th of February, 1591.

Your Ladyship's most obedient Son,

F. Bacon.

5.

I cannot find any allusion to this matter in the subsequent correspondence, nor can I tell whether this suggestion was acted upon. The two brothers seem to have remained at Gray's Inn together till the beginning of August, when Anthony went to Gorhambury, and Francis shortly after, "upon a flying report of the sickness," betook himself along with some of his lawyer friends to Twickenham Park; and asked Dr. Andrews, afterwards the famous Bishop, to join the party; whose duty however, as preacher at St. Giles's, detained him.[1] On the 14th he wrote to invite Mr. Thomas Phillips; who had been formerly in the service of Walsingham,[2] and was now employed by the Earl of Essex, apparently upon Bacon's recommendation.

To Mr. Phillips.[3]

Mr. Phillips,

I have excused myself of this progress; if that be to excuse, —to take liberty where it is not given.[4] Being now at Twicknam, I am desirous of your company. You may stay as long and as little while as you will; the longer the better welcome.

[1] George Jenkell to Anthony Bacon, 15th August, 1592: Lambeth MSS. 648. 134. Not long before (as I find by another paper in this collection, 653. 108), Francis had made the acquaintance of Thomas Cartwright, the great Puritan, whom Anthony had known before, and who had been called in as a kind of mediator between him and his mother in their domestic differences.

[2] See Essex's letter: further on. This I suppose was the Mr. Phillips who had such skill in deciphering letters.

[3] State Paper Office: Domestic, 1592. Original in his own hand.

[4] The two Bacons had been invited on the 29th of July to Bissam, where their aunt Lady Hoby lived, and where the Queen was expected to pay a visit about this time on her progress. It does not appear that either of them accepted the invitation. See Birch, i. p. 78.

Otia colligunt mentem. And indeed I would be the wiser by you in many things; for that I call to confer with a man of your fullness. In sadness, come as you are an honest man. So I wish you all good, from Twicknam Park, this 14th of August, 1592.

Yours ever assured,

FR. BACON.

Another letter to the same person, dated the 15th of September, appears to relate to some service in which Phillips had been employed by the Earl of Essex, in the way of procuring intelligence from abroad. The times were so critical, and so many dark conspiracies on foot, that this art of procuring intelligence was among the most important qualifications of a Councillor, and a point in which the rival courtiers strove to outshine each other. Essex was not yet a Councillor, but in good hope of being sworn in soon, and eagerly seeking occasions to prove his worth. In this case there seems to have been some danger of disappointment, which Bacon was anxious to avert. What the particular occasion was cannot be determined from the expressions of the letter; but we happen to know that about this time the Council was occupied with some "great business about Jesuits and seminary priests; by some whereof there were matters of great weight discovered concerning the State, as a new practice or plot of invasion between Spain, Scotland, the Pope, and some other adherents, as Savoy,[1] etc." And it is not improbable that Mr. Phillips's "Mercury" was some intelligencer whom he had dispatched to gather news about this.

To MR. THOMAS PHILLIPS.[2]

Sir,

I congratulate your return, hoping that all is passed on your side. Your Mercury is returned; whose return alarmed as upon some great matter, which I fear he will not satisfy. News of his coming came before his own letter, and to other than to his proper servant[?],[3] which maketh me desirous to satisfy or to salve. My Lord hath required him to repair to me; which upon his Lordship's and mine own letters received I doubt not but he will with all speed perform; where I pray you to meet him if you may, that laying our heads together we may maintain his credit, satisfy my Lord's expectation, and procure some good service.

[1] Edward Jones to Anthony Bacon, 12th Sept., 1592: quoted by Birch i. p. 87.
[2] State Paper Office: Domestic, 1592. Original in his own hand.
[3] I am not sure of this word: but I think it is 'S[t].'

I pray the rather spare not your travail, because I think the Queen is already party to the advertisement of his coming over, and in some suspect which you may not disclose to him. So I wish you as myself, this 15th of September, 1592.

Yours ever assured,

Fr. Bacon.

By what accident these letters were preserved and found their way into the place where they now are, I cannot positively say. But I find that in the beginning of the next reign Thomas Phillips was examined before the Council concerning certain secret correspondence which had been held by him with some one abroad: with which correspondence "there were acquainted the Queen's Majesty, the Earl of Essex, Mr. Francis Bacon, Sir William Waad, and Mr. Phillips: the three last being acquainted with it, every man in his turn, as the Queen and the Earl would employ them."[1] On such an occasion all Phillips's papers of this kind would naturally come into the hands of the government, and so finally into the State Paper Office. These letters of Bacon's therefore, and others of the same sort which we shall meet with as we proceed, are to be regarded merely as specimens and fragments accidentally cast up of the kind of services in which Essex employed him; not by any means as affording a complete account of his labours, even in this one kind.

6.

But as Essex aspired to distinction in many other ways, so Bacon studied in many other ways to help him: among the rest by contributing to those fanciful pageants or "devices," as they were called, with which it was the fashion of the time to entertain the Queen on festive occasions. On the anniversary of her coronation in 1595, we happen to know positively (though only by the concurrence of two accidents) that certain speeches unquestionably written by Bacon were delivered in a device presented by Essex: and I strongly suspect that two of the most interesting among his smaller pieces were drawn up for some similar performance in the year 1592. I mean those which are entitled "Mr. Bacon in Praise of Knowledge" and "Mr. Bacon's Discourse in Praise of his Sovereign." They were found among the papers submitted to Stephens by Lord Oxford,[2] and printed by Locker in the supplement to his second collection in 1734. The MSS. are still to be seen in the British Museum; fair copies in

[1] MSS. S. P. O.: Domestic, Jan. 1604.

[2] Concerning which, see p. 16.

an old hand, with the titles given above; but no further explanation. My reason for suspecting that they were composed for some masque, or show, or other fictitious occasion, is partly that the speech in praise of knowledge professes to have been spoken in "a conference of pleasure,"[1] and the speech in praise of Elizabeth appears by the opening sentence to have been preceded by three others, one of which *was* in praise of knowledge;[2]—partly that, earnest and full of matter as they both are (the one containing the germ of the first book of the Novum Organum, the other of the "Observations on a Libel," which are nothing less than a substantial historical defence of the Queen's government), there is nevertheless in the *style* of both a certain affectation and rhetorical cadence, traceable in Bacon's other compositions of this kind, and agreeable to the taste of the time, but so alien to his own individual taste and natural manner, that there is no single feature by which his style is more specially distinguished, wherever he speaks in his own person, whether formally or familiarly, whether in the way of narrative, argument, or oration, than the total absence of it. That these pieces were both composed for some occasion of compliment, more or less fanciful, I feel very confident; and if it should ever appear that about the autumn of 1592 (the date to which the historical allusions in the discourse in praise of Elizabeth point most nearly), a "device" was exhibited at Court in which three speakers came forward in turn, each extolling his own favourite virtue (a form which Bacon affected on these occasions, as will appear hereafter in two notable examples),—the first delivering an oration in praise of magnanimity, the second of love, the third of knowledge,—and then a fourth came in with an oration in praise of the Queen, as combining in herself the perfection of all three; I should feel little doubt that the pieces before us were composed by Bacon for that exhibition. Unfortunately we have no detailed account of the celebration of the Queen's day in 1592; we only know that it was "more solemnized than ever, and that *through my Lord of Essex his device:* who, contrary to all the Lords' expectation, came in the morning to the presence, and so to her Majesty's presence, in his collar of Esses, a thing unwonted and unlooked for, and yet hereupon suddenly taken up and used with great liking and contentment of her Highness."[3] The reporter (being a strict Puritan and having no taste for "devices") adds no particulars; and

[1] "But why do I, *in a conference of pleasure*, enter upon these great matters," etc.

[2] "No praise of magnanimity, nor of love, *nor of knowledge*, can intercept her praise that planteth and nourisheth magnanimity by her example, love by her person, and knowledge by the peace and serenity of her times."

[3] N. Fant to A. Bacon, 20 Nov. 1592. Lambeth MSS. 648, 176.

I have not met with any further information bearing upon my conjecture, except an incidental expression in another letter, which only implies that Bacon had about this time been attending the Court. Henry Gosnold, a young lawyer of Gray's Inn, writes on the 28th of November to Anthony Bacon, whom he had just left at Gorhambury:—

"Mr. F. Bacon is, *maulgre the Court*, your kind brother and mine especial friend. The joy he conceived at the report of my Lady's welfare, and the sorrow of mine undersong concerning your weak estate, called the welcomeness of my news in dispute. He offers to accommodate you at Gray's Inn, the rather because you love low and warm," etc.[1]

What little we do know of the facts therefore is compatible with my conjecture. Essex adorned the triumphs of the 17th of November, 1592, with some distinguished "device," and Bacon was about the Court. If any news-letter giving an account of the solemnities should turn up, it will probably settle the question one way or other. In the meantime, this is the proper place for the Discourse in praise of the Queen, being the date which the several allusions in it best fit; and in the absence of all other grounds of conjecture as to the time when the "Praise of Knowledge" was composed, the allusion in the opening sentence of the other is ground enough for placing it here.

They are both contained in a fragment of a paper book, into which some of Bacon's early writings have been copied;—among others, the *Colours of Good and Evil*, with the dedicatory letter to Lord Montjoy, of which one leaf remains, and the *Essays*, as printed in 1597; the two last of which (*Of Faction*, and *Of Negotiating*) are copied on the other side of the leaf on which the Discourse in praise of the Queen begins. What else the book originally contained one cannot guess, this portion having evidently been preserved only for the sake of these two pieces. They are written in a fair close Saxon hand; probably contemporary, though there is nothing to fix the date; and I think the hand of a mere transcriber, who wrote straight on without thinking of the meaning. The divisions of the sentences he has for the most part not marked at all, and sometimes marked wrong. Many words, especially in the second piece, are obviously miscopied, and here and there a whole clause has apparently been left out. The marks of parenthesis are sometimes inserted in the wrong place; and the paragraphs are not divided. The copy does not appear to have been revised by anybody, and has certainly not been corrected by Bacon.

In editing these pieces, I have arranged the punctuation according to

[1] Lambeth MSS., 653, 155.

my own judgment, without noticing the variations from the MS., which are innumerable; for the MS. can hardly be said to be punctuated at all. I have also thought it better to divide them into paragraphs, of which there are no traces in the MS. For the text, which is in many places evidently corrupt, I have introduced into it several conjectural emendations; but in no case without giving the original reading in a footnote; so that the reader may in all cases accept, improve, or reject my conjectures for himself.[1]

With regard to the matter of these pieces, I have not thought it desirable to enter into any discussions of the philosophical speculations in the first, or the historical questions in the last. The theory of the universe which is here indicated is the same I think, in substance, which Bacon held in his maturer years, and belongs to the general consideration of his philosophy. And though certain modern historians, deriving their information from the dispatches of ambassadors which were inaccessible to him, put a very different interpretation upon some of Elizabeth's proceedings, especially with regard to Scotland, I have no doubt that the light in which they are presented here was that in which he then really viewed them, and in which probably they would most naturally be viewed by all persons who were not behind the scenes. I have added a few notes however

[1] That he may the better judge how much correction it probably required, I will add here a sentence or two from other parts of the same volume, in which we are fortunately able to recover the true reading from the printed copy.

In the Essay on Faction the following sentence occurs:—"But I say not that the consideration of Factions is to be neglected: meane men must adhere so moderately. But greate men that have strength in themselves must maintain themselves indifferent and newtralls, yet ever in beginning to adhere so moderately as he be a man of one faction which is passablest with the other commonly gently is the best way." Here it is evident that there is something wrong. But how to divine the true reading? The printed copy (1597) shows how the error arose. "Mean men must adhere, but great men that have strength in themselves were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral, yet even in *beginners* to adhere so moderately as he be a man of *the* one faction which is passablest with the other, commonly *giveth* the best way."

Again, in the same Essay, we find "when one of the factions is extinguished the remayning subdeweth which is good for a second." Read *subdivideth*.

The first sentence of the Essay 'Of Negotiating' stands thus in the MS. "It is better to deal by speech then by letter and my medytation of a third then by a man's owne self." Read "*by mediation* of a third."

Again, "All practyse ys eyther to dyscover or to worke men to dyscover themselves in trust in passion at unawares or upon necessitie when a man would have somewhat done and cannot finde an apt pretext. If you will work anie thing, yow must eyther knowe his nature," etc. Here the actual error is very small; but being combined with a total omission of stops, it is so misleading, that most men in attempting to recover the sense would be more likely to get further off than nearer. Read "All practice is either to discover or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, etc. etc. If you would work any *man*, you must know either his nature," etc.

All these errors, and a few more, occur in a single page of the same transcriber's handiwork. Therefore whenever a sentence seems to run ill, or the meaning not to be clear, we need not fear to suspect a blunder.

in explanation of the obscurer allusions, and marked some of the principal dates.

7.

MR. BACON IN PRAISE OF KNOWLEDGE.[1]

Silence were the best celebration of that which I mean to commend; for who would not use silence, where silence is not made, and what crier can make silence in such a noise and tumult of vain and popular opinions?

My praise shall be dedicated to the mind itself. The mind is the man and the knowledge of the mind. A man is but what he knoweth. The mind itself is but an accident to knowledge; for knowledge is a double of that which is; the truth of being and the truth of knowing is all one.

Are not[2] the pleasures of the affections greater than the pleasures of the senses? And are not the pleasures of the intellect greater than the pleasures of the affections? Is not knowledge[3] a true and only natural pleasure, whereof there is no satiety? Is it not knowledge that doth alone clear the mind of all perturbation? How many things are there which we imagine not! How many things do we esteem and value otherwise than they are! This ill proportioned estimation, these vain imaginations, these be the clouds of error that turn into the storms of perturbation. Is there any such happiness as for a man's mind to be raised above the confusion of things, where he may have the prospect of the order of nature and the error of men?

But[4] is this a vein only of delight, and not of discovery? of contentment, and not of benefit? Shall he not as well discern the riches of nature's warehouse, as the benefit of her shop? Is truth ever barren? Shall he not be able thereby to produce worthy effects, and to endow the life of man with infinite commodities?

But shall I make this garland to be put upon a wrong head? Would anybody believe me, if I should verify this upon the knowledge that is now in use? Are we the richer by one poor invention, by reason of all the learning that hath been these many hundred years? The industry of artificers maketh some small improvement of things invented; and chance sometimes in ex-

[1] Harl. MSS. 6797, fo. 47.
[2] *and the pleasures*, etc.: MS.
[3] *Is not a true*, etc.: MS.
[4] *Is thus but a vayne*, etc.: MS.

perimenting maketh us to stumble upon somewhat which is new; but all the disputation of the learned never brought to light one effect of nature before unknown. When things are known and found out, then they can descant upon them, they can knit them into certain causes, they can reduce them to their principles. If any instance of experience stand against them, they can range it in order by some distinctions. But all this is but a web of the wit, it can work nothing. I do not doubt but that common notions, which we call reason, and the knitting of them together, which we call logic, are the art of reason and studies. But they rather cast obscurity than gain light to the contemplation of nature. All the philosophy of nature which is now received, is either the philosophy of the Grecians, or that other of the Alchemists. That of the Grecians hath the foundations in words, in ostentation, in confutation, in sects, in schools, in disputations. The Grecians were (as one of themselves saith), *you Grecians, ever children.* They knew little antiquity; they knew (except fables) not much above five hundred years before themselves; they knew but a small portion of the world. That of the alchemists hath the foundation in imposture, in auricular traditions and obscurity; it was catching hold of religion, but the principle of it is, *Populus vult decipi.* So that I know no great difference between these great philosophies,[1] but that the one is a loud crying folly, and the other is a whispering folly. The one is gathered out of a few vulgar observations, and the other out of a few experiments of a furnace. The one never faileth to multiply words, and the other ever faileth to multiply gold. Who would not smile at Aristotle, when he admireth the eternity and invariableness of the heavens, as there were not the like in the bowels of the earth? Those be the confines and borders of these two kingdoms, where the continual alteration and incursion are. The superficies and upper parts of the earth are full of varieties. The superficies and lower parts of the heavens (which we call the middle region of the air) is full of variety. There is much spirit in the one part that cannot be brought into mass. There is much massy body in the other place that cannot be refined to spirit. The common air is as the waste ground between the borders. Who would not smile at the astronomers, I mean not these new[2] carmen which drive the earth about, but the ancient astronomers, which feign the

[1] *philosophers*: MS. [2] *few*: MS.

moon to be the swiftest of the planets in motion, and the rest in order, the higher the slower; and so are compelled to imagine a double motion; whereas how evident is it, that that which they call a contrary motion is but an abatement of motion. The fixed stars overgo Saturn, and so in them and the rest all is but one motion, and the nearer the earth the slower; a motion also whereof air and water do participate, though much interrupted.

But why do I in a conference of pleasure enter into these great matters, in sort that pretending to know much, I should forget what is seasonable? Pardon me, it was because all [other][1] things may be endowed and adorned with speeches, but knowledge itself is more beautiful than any apparel of words that can be put upon it.

And let not me seem arrogant, without respect to these great reputed authors. Let me so give every man his due, as I give Time his due, which is to discover truth. Many of these men had greater wits, far above mine own, and so are many in the universities of Europe at this day. But alas, they learn nothing there but to believe: first to believe that others know that which they know not; and after [that][2] themselves know that which they know not. But indeed facility to believe, impatience to doubt, temerity to answer, glory to know, doubt to contradict, end to gain, sloth to search, seeking things in words, resting in part of nature; these, and the like, have been the things which have forbidden the happy match between the mind of man and the nature of things, and in place thereof have married it to vain notions and blind experiments. And what the posterity and issue of so honourable a match may be, it is not hard to consider. Printing, a gross invention; artillery, a thing that lay not far out of the way; the needle, a thing partly known before; what a change have these three made in the world in these times; the one in state of learning, the other in state of the war, the third in the state of treasure, commodities, and navigation. And those, I say, were but stumbled upon and lighted upon by chance. Therefore, no doubt the sovereignty of man lieth hid in knowledge; wherein many things are reserved, which kings with their treasure cannot buy, nor with their force command; their spials and intelligencers can give no news of them, their seamen and

[1] *all things*: MS. [2] *after themselves*: MS.

discoverers cannot sail where they grow. Now we govern nature in opinions, but we are thrall unto her in necessity; but if we would be led by her in invention, we should command her in action.

8.

MR. BACON'S DISCOURSE IN THE PRAISE OF HIS SOVEREIGN.[1]

No praise of magnanimity, nor of love, nor of knowledge, can intercept her praise that planteth and nourisheth magnanimity by her example, love by her person, and knowledge by the peace and serenity of her times; and if these rich pieces be so fair unset, what are they set, and set in all perfection?

Magnanimity no doubt consisteth in contempt of peril, in contempt of profit, and in meriting of the times wherein one liveth.

For contempt of peril, see a lady that cometh to a crown after the experience of some adverse fortune, which for the most part extenuateth the mind, and maketh it apprehensive of fears. No sooner she taketh the sceptre into her sacred hands, but she putteth on a resolution to make the greatest, the most important, the most dangerous [alteration][2] that can be in a state, the alteration of religion. This she doth, not after a sovereignty established and continued by sundry years, when custom might have bred in her people a more absolute obedience, when trial of her servants might have made her more assured whom to employ, when the reputation of her policy and virtue might have made her government redoubted; but at the very entrance of her reign, when she was green in authority, her servants scant known unto her, the adverse part not[3] weakened, her own part not confirmed. Neither doth she reduce or reunite her realm to the religion of the[4] states about her, that the evil inclination of the subject might be countervailed by the good correspondence in foreign parts; but contrariwise she introduceth a religion exterminated and persecuted both at home and abroad. Her proceeding herein is not by degrees and by stealth, but absolute and at once. Was she encouraged thereto by the strength she found in leagues and alliances with great and potent confederates? No, but she found her realm in wars with her nearest and mightiest neighbours; she stood single and alone, and in league only with one, that after the people of her nation had

[1] Harl. MSS. 6797, art. 5. [2] *dangerous that*: MS. [3] *nor*: MS. [4] *her*: MS.

made his wars, left her to make her own peace; one that could never be by any solicitation moved to renew the treaties; and one that since hath proceeded from doubtful terms of amity to the highest acts of hostility. Yet notwithstanding the opposition so great, the support so weak, the season so unproper; yet, I say, because it was a religion wherein she was nourished and brought up, a religion that freed her subjects from pretence of foreign powers, and indeed the true religion, she brought to pass this great work with success worthy so noble a resolution. See a Queen that, when a deep and secret conspiracy was plotted against her sacred person, practised by subtile instruments, embraced by violent[1] and desperate humours, strengthened and bound by vows and sacraments, and the same was revealed unto her, (and yet the nature of the affairs required further ripening before the apprehension of any of the parties,) was content to put herself into the guard of the divine providence and her own prudence, to have some of the conspirators in her eyes, to suffer them to approach to her person, to take a petition of the hand that was conjured for her death; and that with such majesty of countenance, such mildness and serenity of gesture, such art and impression of words, as had been sufficient to have repressed and bound the hand of a conspirator, if he had not been discovered. Lastly, see a Queen, that when her realm was to have been invaded by an army the preparation whereof was like the travail of an elephant, the provisions [whereof][2] were infinite, the setting forth whereof was the terror and wonder of Europe; it was not seen that her cheer, her fashion, her ordinary manner was anything altered; not a cloud of that storm did appear in that countenance wherein peace doth ever shine; but with excellent assurance and advised security she inspired her council, animated her nobility, redoubled the courage of her people; still having this noble apprehension, not only that she would communicate her fortune with them, but that it was she that would protect them, and not they her; which she testified by no less demonstration than her presence in camp. Therefore that magnanimity that neither feareth greatness of alteration, nor the vows[3] of conspirators, nor the power of enemy, is more than heroical.

For contempt of profit, consider her offers, consider her pur-

[1] *violence:* MS. [2] *provisions were infinite:* MS.
[3] *views:* MS. But the word has been blotted with some correction.

chases. She hath reigned in a most populous and wealthy peace, her people greatly multiplied, wealthily appointed, and singularly devoted. She wanted not the example of the power of her armies, in the memorable voyages and invasions prosperously made and achieved by sundry her noble progenitors. She hath not wanted pretences, as well of claim and right as of quarrel and revenge. She hath reigned during the minorities of some of her neighbour princes, and during the factions and divisions of their people upon deep and irreconcilable quarrels, and during the embracing greatness of some one that hath made himself as[1] weak through too much burthen as others are through decay of strength; and yet see her sitting as it were within the compass of her sands. Scotland, that doth as it were eclipse her island; the United Provinces of the Low Countries, which for [site],[2] wealth, commodity of traffic, affection to our nation, were most meet to be annexed to this crown; she[3] left the possession of the one, and refused the sovereignty of the other; so that notwithstanding the greatness of her means, the justness of her pretences, and the rareness of her opportunity, she hath continued her first mind; she hath made the possessions which she received the limits of her dominions, and the world the limits of her name, by a peace that hath stained all victories.

For her merits, who doth not acknowledge that she hath been as a star of most fortunate influence upon the age wherein she hath shined? Shall we speak of merit of clemency, or merit of beneficence? Where shall a man take the most proper and natural trial of her royal clemency? Will it best appear in the injuries that were done unto her before she attained the crown, [towards which, because they touched herself only, she might use clemency freely according to her natural disposition]? or after she is seated in her throne, and that the commonwealth is incorporated in her person,[4] and that clemency is drawn in question, as a dangerous encounter of justice and policy? And therefore who did ever note that she did resent (after that she was

[1] *so weak:* MS.

[2] A blank left in MS., as for some word which the transcriber could not read. *Site* is the word in the corresponding passage in the 'Observations on a Libel.' See the next section.

[3] *the:* MS.

[4] The general purport of this sentence is sufficiently intelligible; but there must be some error in the reading of the MS. Probably an entire clause, to the effect of that which I have supplied, has dropped out. The whole sentence stands thus in the MS.:—"Will yt best appeare in the Injuryes that were done unto her before

established in her kingdom) [any] of the wrongs done unto her former estate? Who doth not remember how she did revenge the rigour and rudeness of her jailor by a word, and that not[1] bitter but salt, and such as showed rather the excellency of her wit than any impression of her wrong? Yea and further is it not as[2] manifest that since her reign, notwithstanding the principle that princes should not neglect (that the Commonwealth's wrong is included in themselves), yet when it is question of drawing the sword, there is ever a conflict between the justice of her place joined with the necessity of her state, and her royal clemency which as a sovereign and precious balm continually distilleth from her fair hands, and falleth into the wounds of many that have incurred the offence of her law.

Now for her beneficence, what kind of persons have breathed during her most happy reign, but have had the benefit of her virtues conveyed unto them? Take a view and consider whether they have not extended to subjects, to neighbours, to remote strangers, yea to her greatest enemies.

For her subjects, where shall we begin in such a maze of benefits as presenteth itself to remembrance? Shall we speak of the purging away of the dross of religion, the heavenly treasure; or that of money, the earthly treasure? The greater was touched before, and the latter deserveth not to be forgotten. For who believeth not (that knoweth anything in matter of estate) of the great absurdities and frauds that arise of divorcing the legal estimation of moneys from the general and (as I may term it) natural estimation of the metals; and again of the uncertainty and wavering values of coins, a very labyrinth of cozenages and abuse,[3] yet such as great princes have made their profit of towards their own people? Pass on from the mint to the revenue and receipts. There shall you find no raising of rents, notwithstanding the alteration of prices and the usage of the times; but the overvalue, besides a reasonable fine, left for the relief of tenants and reward

shee attayned the Crowne? or after shee is seated in her Throane or that the Comonwealth is incorporated in her person, then clemencye is drawn in questyon as a dangerous encounter of Justice and pollecy, and therefore who did ever noate that shee did relent (after that shee was establyshed in her kingdome) of the wrongs done unto her former estate?"

[1] *noe bitter:* MS.

[2] *so manifest:* MS.

[3] I suspect that some words have dropped out of this sentence also. Perhaps "who believeth not (that knoweth, etc.) *that the subject hath derived infinite benefit from the removal* of the great absurdities," etc., or words to that effect.

of servants; no raising of customs, notwithstanding her continual charges of setting to the sea; no extremity taken of forfeiture and penal laws, means used by some kings for the gathering of great treasures: a few forfeitures indeed, not taken to her own purse but set over to some others, for the trial only, whether gain could bring those laws to be well executed which the ministers of justice did neglect; but after it was found that only compassions were used, and the law never the nearer the execution, the course was straight suppressed and discontinued. Yea there have been made laws more than one in her time for the restraint of the vexation of informers and promoters; nay a course taken by her own direction for the repealing of all heavy and snared laws, if it had not been crossed by those to whom the benefit should have redounded. There you shall find no new taxes, impositions, nor devices; but the benevolence of the subject freely offered by assent of parliament, according to the ancient rates, and with great moderation in assessment; and not so only, but some new forms of contribution offered likewise by the subject in parliament, and the demonstration of their devotion only accepted,[1] but the thing never put in ure. There shall you find loans, but honourably answered and paid, as it were the contract of a private man. To conclude, there shall you find moneys levied upon sales[2] of lands, alienations (though not of the ancient patrimony) yet of the rich and commodious purchases and perquisites of the crown, only because she will not be grievous and burdensome to the people. This treasure, so innocently levied, so honourably gathered and raised, with such tenderness to the subject, without any baseness or dryness at all, how hath it been expended and employed? Where be the wasteful buildings, and the exorbitant and prodigal donatives, the sumptuous dissipations in pleasures and vain ostentations, which we find have exhausted the coffers of so many kings? It is the honour of her house, the royal remunerating of her servants, the preservation of her people and state, the protection of her suppliants and allies, the encounter, breaking, and defeating the enemies of her realm, that have[3] been the only pores and pipes whereby the treasure hath issued. Hath it been the sinews of a blessed and prosperous peace? Hath she bought her

[1] *excepted*: MS. On the 18th of March, 1586-7, the Commons offered to sanction the collection of a benevolence or voluntary contribution towards the expenses of the war in the Low Countries, which the Queen declined. See before, p. 65.
[2] *faults*: MS. [3] *hath*: MS.

peace? Hath she lent the King of Spain money upon some cavillation not to be repeated, and so bought his favour? And hath she given large pensions to corrupt his council? No, but she hath used the most honourable diversion of troubles that can be in the world. She hath kept the fire from her own walls by seeking to quench it in her neighbours'. That poor brand of the state of Burgundy, and that other of the crown of France that remaineth, had been in ashes but for the ready fountain of her continual benignity. For the honour of her house, it is well known that almost the universal manners of the times doth incline to a certain parsimony and dryness in that kind of expense; yet that she retaineth the ancient magnificence, the allowance as full, the charge greater than in time of her father or any king before. The books appear; the computation will not flatter. And for the remunerating and rewarding of her servants and the attendance of the court, let a man cast and sum up all the books of gifts, fee-farms, leases, and custodies that have passed her bountiful hands; let him consider again what a number of commodious and gainful offices heretofore bestowed upon men of other education and profession have been withdrawn and conferred upon her court; let him remember what a number of other gifts, disguised by other names but in effect as good as money given out of her coffers, have been granted by her; and he will conclude that her royal mind is far above her means. The other benefits of her politic, clement, and gracious government towards the subjects are without number. The state of justice good, notwithstanding the great subtlety and humorous affections of these times. The security of peace greater than can be described by that verse,

> Tutus bos etenim rura[1] perambulat:
> Nutrit rura Ceres,[2] almaque Faustitas:

or that other,

> Condit quisque diem collibus in suis.

The opulency of the peace such, as if you have respect (to take one sign for many) to the number of fair houses that have been built since her reign, as Augustus said that he had received the city of brick and left it of marble, so she may say she received

[1] *cura*: MS. [2] *seges*: MS.

it a realm of cottages and hath made it a realm of palaces. The state of traffic great and rich. The customs, notwithstanding these wars and interruptions, not fallen. Many profitable trades: many honourable discoveries. And lastly, to make an end where no end is, the shipping of this realm so advanced and made so mighty and potent,[1] as this island is become (as the natural site thereof deserved) the lady of the sea; a point of so high consequence, as it may be truly said that the commandment of the sea is an abridgment or a quintessence of an universal monarchy. This and much more hath she merited of her subjects.

Now to set forth her[2] merit of her neighbours and the states about her. It seemeth the times[3] have made themselves purveyors of continual new and noble occasions for her to show them benignity, and that the fires of troubles abroad have been ordained to [be][4] as lights and tapers to make her virtue and magnanimity more apparent. For when that one, stranger born, the family of the Guise, being as a hasty weed sprung up in a night, had spread itself to a greatness, not civil but seditious; a greatness, not of encounter of the ancient nobility, not of pre-eminency in the favour of kings, and not remisse[5] of affairs from kings; but a greatness of innovation in state, of usurpations of authority, of affecting of crowns; and that accordingly, under colour of consanguinity and religion, they had brought French forces into Scotland, in the absence of their king and queen being within their usurped tutele; and that the ancient nobility of that[6] realm, seeing the imminent danger of reducing that kingdom under the tyranny of foreigners and their faction, had, according to the good intelligence betwixt the two crowns, prayed her neighbourly succours; she undertook the action, expelled the strangers, restored the nobility to their degree.[7] And lest any man should think her intent was to unnestle ill neighbours, and not to aid good neighbours, or that she was readier to restore what was invaded by others than to render what was in her own hands; see if the time provided not a new occasion afterwards,[8]

[1] All the words from "as this island" to "deserved" are included in the parenthesis, in the MS.

[2] *the merit:* MS. [3] *things:* MS. [4] *to as:* MS.

[5] So in MS. Perhaps it should be "*not in commission of affairs from kings.*"

[6] *this realm:* MS.

[7] The peace was concluded in July, 1560. See Stowe.

[8] In 1570, during the troubles arising from the assassination of the Regent Murray.

when through their own divisions (without the intermise of strangers) her forces were again [by the king's best and truest servants[1]] sought and required; she forsook them not,[2] prevailed so far as to be possessed of the castle of Edinburgh, the principal strength of that kingdom; which place[3] incontinently without cunctations or cavillations (the preambles of a wavering faith) she rendered with all honour and sincerity,[4] and his person to safe and faithful hands; and so ever after during his minority continued his principal guardian and protector. In the [mean[5]] time and between the two occasions of Scotland, when the same faction of Guise, covered still with pretence of religion, and strengthened by the desire of retaining [the[6]] government in the queen[7] mother of France, had raised and moved civil wars in that kingdom, only to extirpate the ancient nobility by shocking[8] them one against another, and to waste that realm as a candle which is lighted at both ends; and that those of the religion, being near of the blood-royal and otherwise of the greatest house in France, and great officers of the crown, opposed themselves only against their insolency, and to their supports called in her aids,[9] giving unto them Newhaven for a place of security: see with what alacrity, in tender regard towards the fortune of that young king, whose name was used to the suppliants of his strength,[10] she embraced the enterprise; and by their support and reputation the same party suddenly made great proceedings, and in conclusion made their peace as they would themselves.[11] And although they joined themselves against her, and performed the parts rather of good patriots than of good confederates, and that after great demonstration of valour in her subjects[12] (for so the

[1] Supplied from the corresponding passage in the 'Observations on a Libel' (see next section). The expression "*his person*," a few lines further on, shows that the king must have been mentioned before.

[2] So MS. Perhaps it should be *till they had prevailed.*

[3] *with peace:* MS. [4] *security:* MS. [5] *In the time:* MS.

[6] *retaining government:* MS. [7] *queen's:* MS.

[8] *shucking:* MS. [9] *ayde:* MS.

[10] So MS. Perhaps it should be, "whose name was used to *her by* the suppliants of *her* strength." This was in September, 1562. "The Queen's Majesty took unto her protection the French king's subjects in Normandy, being oppressed by the tyranny of the House of Guise; and published a declaration printed." (Burghley's Diary, under date 27th September.) The declaration, which is given at length by Stowe, alleges, among other things, "the lamentable and continual request of the French king's subjects, . . . crying to her Majesty only for defence of themselves . . . during this their king's minority, or at least during this his inability to pacify these troubles."

[11] March 19, 1562-3.

[12] The MS. has a full stop after "subjects," and begins a new sentence with "*For as* the French," etc., without any parenthesis.

French will to this day report), specially by the great mortality by the hand of God, and the rather because it is known she did never much affect the holding of that town to her own use, it was left, and her forces withdrawn;[1] yet did that nothing diminish her merit of the crown, and namely of that party, who recovered by it such strength as by that and no other thing they subsisted long after. And lest that any should sinisterly and maliciously interpret that she did nourish those divisions, who knoweth not what faithful advice, continual and earnest solicitation she used by her ambassadors and ministers to the French kings successively, and to their mother, to move them to keep their edicts of pacification, to retain their own authority and greatness by the union of their[2] subjects? Which counsel, if it had been [as[3]] happily followed as it was prudently and sincerely given, France at this day had been a most flourishing kingdom, which now is a theatre of misery. And now at last, when the said house of Guise, being one of the whips of God, whereof themselves are but the cords and Spain the stock, had by their infinite aspiring practices wrought the miracle of states, to make a king in possession long established to play again for his crown, without any title of a competitor, without any invasion of a foreign enemy, yea without any combination in substance of a blood-royal or nobility; but only by furring[4] in audacious persons into sundry governments,[5] and by making the populace of towns[6] drunk with seditious preachers; and that King Henry the Third, awaked by those pressing dangers, was compelled to execute the Duke of Guise without ceremony,[7] and yet nevertheless found the despair of so many persons embarked and engaged in that conspiracy so violent as the flame thereby was little assuaged, so that he was inforced to implore her aids and succours; consider how benign care and good correspondence she gave to the distressed requests of that king; and he soon after being by the sacrilegious hand of a wretched Jacobin, lifted up against the sacred person of his natural sovereign, taken away,[8]

[1] July 28, 1563. "The first of August in the morning," Burghley writes to Sir T. Smith, August 4, 1563, "cometh the certainty of the rendering of Newhaven; which seeing that it pleased Almighty God to visit it with such incurable infection, being as it seemeth a den of poison, it was well bargained to depart it."—Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, i. 186.

[2] *her*: MS. [3] *been happily*: MS.

[4] So MS. I have not met with this word anywhere else. Perhaps it should be *forcing* or *farcing*. If *furring* be the right word, it was probably an English form of the French *fourrer*. [5] *Government*: MS.

[6] *populare of towne*: MS. [7] In 1589. [8] 22nd July, 1589.

(wherein not[1] the criminous blood of Guise, but the innocent blood which he hath often spilled by instigation of him and his house, was revenged,) and that this worthy gentleman who reigneth come to the crown; it will not be forgotten by so grateful a king nor by so observing an age, how ready, how opportune and seasonable,[2] how royal and sufficient her succours were, whereby she enlarged him at that time and preferred him to his better fortune; and ever since in those tedious wars, wherein he hath to do with a Hydra, or a monster with many heads, she hath supported him with treasure, with forces, and with employment of one that she favoureth most.[3] What shall I speak of the offering of Don Anthony to his fortune;[4] a devoted Catholic, only commended unto her by his oppressed state? What shall I say of the great storm of a mighty invasion, not of preparation but in act, by the Turk upon the King of Poland, lately dissipated only by the beams of her reputation,[5] which with the Grand Signor is greater than that of all the states of Europe put together? But let me rest upon the honourable and continual aid and relief she hath gotten to the distressed and desolate people of the Low Countries; a people recommended unto her by ancient confederacy and daily intercourse, by their cause so innocent, and their fortune so lamentable. And yet notwithstanding, to keep the conformity of her own proceeding, never stained with the least note of ambition or malice, she refused the sovereignty of divers of those goodly provinces,[6] offered unto her with great instance, to have been accepted with great contentment both of her own people and others, and justly to be derived either in respect of the hostility of Spain, or in respect of the conditions, liberties, and privileges of those subjects, and without[7] charge, danger, and offence

[1] *not wherein*: MS. In the next clause, *that* should probably be omitted.

[2] *reasonable*: MS.

[3] Meaning, no doubt, the Earl of Essex; and alluding to the succours sent in the autumn of 1591.

[4] In 1589.

[5] This is explained by a letter from William Cecil, Burghley's grandson, to Lord Talbot, 23rd October, 1590:—"The Turk, had not he been prevented by our ambassador, intended to set upon the King of Poland with sixty thousand men; but understanding her Majesty had great need of many things from the country necessary for her navy, he withdrew his force, though he were assured of victory, only for her Majesty's sake; who received great thanks from the King of Poland; and the Turk himself hath written to her Majesty letters with most great titles, assuring her that if she would write her letters to him to require him, he will make the King of Spain humble himself to her."—Lodge, ii. 414.

[6] In 1585.

[7] So MS. In the corresponding passage of the 'Observations on a Libel' the words are "and with all one charge danger and offence of Spain;" in which also there seems to be something wrong. I should have expected in this place "*not* without."

to the King of Spain and his partizants. She hath taken upon her their defence and protection without any further avail or profit unto herself than the honour and merit of her benignity to that[1] people that hath been pursued by their natural king only upon passion and wrath, in such sort that he doth consume his means upon revenge. And herein,[1] to verify that which I said, that her merits have extended to her greatest enemies, let it be remembered what hath passed in that matter between the King of Spain and her; how in the beginning of the troubles there she gave and imparted to him faithful and friendly advice touching the course that was to be taken for quieting and appeasing of them; then she interposed herself to most just and reasonable capitulations, wherein always should have been preserved unto him as ample interest jurisdiction and superiority in those countries as he in right could claim or a prince well-minded would seek to have; and (which is the greatest point) she did by her advice credit and policy and all good means interrupt and appeach that the same people by despair should not utterly alien and distract themselves from the obedience of the King of Spain and cast themselves into the arms of a stranger; insomuch that it is most true that she did ever persuade the Duke of Anjou[3] from that action, notwithstanding the affection she bare to that duke, and the obstinacy which she saw daily growing in the King of Spain. Lastly, to touch the mighty general merit of this Queen, bear in mind that her benignity and beneficence hath been as large as the oppression and ambition of Spain. For to begin with the Church of Rome, that pretended apostolic see is become but a donative cell of the King of Spain; the Vicar of Christ is become the King of Spain's chaplain; he parteth the coming in of the new Pope for the treasure of the old; he was wont to exclude but some two or three cardinals, and to leave the election of the rest; but now he doth include and present directly some small number, all incapable and incompatible with the conclave, put in only for colour, except one or two.[4] The

[1] *the*: MS. [2] *having*: MS.

[3] D. of Ani . . . in MS., a space being left for the rest of the name, which the translator could not read.

[4] This device (the naming of seven cardinals, to the exclusion of all others) seems to have been first practised upon the election of Gregory XIV. (December, 1590). It was repeated on that of Innocent IX. (October, 1591) and Clement VIII. (January, 1591-2); though in the last case it was only partially successful. See Ranke's History of the Popes, book vi.

states of Italy, they be like little quillets of freehold lying[1] intermixt in the midst of a great honour or lordship. France is turned upside-down, the subject against the king, cut and mangled infinitely, a country of Rodamonts and Roytelets, farmers of the ways. Portugal usurped by no other title than strength and viciuity. The Low Countries warred upon, because he seeketh, not to possess them, for they were possessed by him before, but to plant there an absolute and martial government, and to suppress their liberties. The like at this day attempted upon Arragon.[2] The poor Indies, whereas the Christian religion generally brought enfranchisement of slaves in all places where[3] it came, in a contrary course are brought from freemen to be slaves, and slaves of most miserable condition. Sundry trains and practices of this king's ambition in Germany, Denmark, Scotland, the east towns, are not unknown. Then it is her government, and her government alone, that hath been the sconce and fort of all Europe, which hath let this proud nation from overrunning all. If any state be yet free from his factions erected in the bowels thereof; if there be any state wherein his[4] faction is erected that is not yet fired with civil troubles; if there be any state under his protection upon whom he usurpeth not; if there be any subject to him, that enjoyeth moderate liberty, upon whom he tyrannizeth not; let them all know, it is by the mercy of this renowned Queen, that standeth between them and their misfortunes. These be some of the beams of noble and radiant magnanimity, in contempt of peril which so many fly,[5] in contempt of profit which so many admire, and in merit of the world which so many include in themselves; set forth in my simplicity of speech with much loss of lustre,[6] but with near approach of truth, as the sun is seen in the water.

Now to pass to the excellencies of her person. The view of A persona.

[1] *being:* MS. Corrected from a MS. of the 'Observations on a Libel,' in which the same sentence occurs: *lieing* and *being*, in the handwriting of this period, are hardly distinguishable even in a clear hand.

[2] Anthony Standen writes to Anthony Bacon, 8th September, 1592, that "the citadel of Shuta, in Arragon, the frontier of France and Bearn, was already put into a state of defence, and three hundred soldiers in it; and at Saragossa, the metropolis of that kingdom, they were building another citadel; so that *Arragon might be saddled whenever they pleased, being already bridled.*"—Birch, i. 84.

[3] *when:* MS. [4] *this:* MS.

[5] *which so manifestly:* MS. *manie fly*, in the handwriting of that period, might easily look like *manifestly*, especially if the tail of a letter from the line above happened to strike between the words.

[6] *lustie:* MS.

them wholly and not severally do make so sweet a wonder, as I fear to divide them again.[1] Nobility extracted out of the royal and victorious line of the kings of England; yea both roses, white and red, do as well flourish in her nobility as in her beauty. Health,[2] such as was like she should have that was brought forth by two of the most goodly princes in the world, [in[3]] the strength of their years, in the heat of their love; that hath been injured neither with an over-liberal nor over-curious diet, that hath not been softened[4] by an umbratile life still under the roof, but strengthened by the use of the pure and open air, that still retaineth flower and vigour of youth. For the beauty and many graces of her presence, what colours are fine enough for such a portraiture? Let no light poet be used for such a description, but the chastest and the royalest.

Of her gait, *Et vera incessu patuit Dea;*
of her voice, *Nec vox hominem sonat;*
of her eye, *Et lætos oculis afflavit honores;*
of her colour, *Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit*[5] *ostro*
Si quis ebur;
of her neck, *Et rosea cervice refulsit;*
of her breast, *Veste sinus collecta fluentes;*
of her hair, *Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem*
Spiravere.

If this be presumption, let him bear the blame that oweth the verses. What shall I speak of her rare qualities of compliment? which as they be excellent in the things themselves, so they have always besides somewhat of a queen; and as queens use shadows and veils with their rich apparel, methinks in all her qualities there is somewhat that flieth from ostentation, and yet inviteth
A sermone.[6] the mind to contemplate her more. What should I speak of her excellent gift of speech,[7] being a character of the greatness[8] of her conceit, the height of her degree, and the sweetness of her nature? What life, what edge is there in those words and glances wherewith at pleasure she can give a man long to think, be it that she mean to daunt him, to encourage him, or to amaze him. How admirable is her discourse, whether it be in learning, state, or love. What variety of knowledge; what rareness of conceit; what

[1] Full stop after *them* in MS. [2] *as health:* MS. [3] *in* omitted in MS.
[4] *Susteyned* MS. [5] *violaverat:* MS. [6] *A sermon:* MS.
[7] *speeches:* MS. Perhaps the next word should be *bearing.*
[8] *greatest:* MS.

choice of words; what grace of utterance. Doth it not appear that though her wit be as the adamant of excellencies, which draweth out of any book ancient or new, out of any writing or speech, the best, yet she refineth it, she enricheth it far above the value wherein it is received? And is her speech only that language which the child learneth with pleasure, and not those which the studious learn with industry? Hath she not attained, beside her rare eloquence in her own language, infinitely polished since her happy times, changes of her languages both learned and modern? so that she is able to negotiate with divers ambassadors in their own languages; and that with no [small[1]] disadvantage unto them, who I think cannot but have a great part of their wits distracted from their matters in hand to the contemplation and admiration of such perfections. What should I wander on to speak of the excellencies of her nature, which cannot endure to be looked on with a discontented eye? of the constancy of her favours, which maketh [her[2]] service as a journey by land, whereas the service of other princes is like an embarking by sea? For her royal wisdom and policy of government, he that shall note and observe the prudent temper she useth in admitting access, of the one side maintaining the majesty of her degree, and on the other side not prejudicing herself by looking to her estate through too few windows; her exquisite judgment in choosing and finding good servants (a point beyond the former); her profound discretion in assigning and appropriating every of them to their aptest employment; her penetrating sight in[3] discovering every man's ends and drifts; her wonderful art in keeping servants in satisfaction, and yet in appetite; her inventing wit in contriving plots and overturns; her exact caution in censuring the propositions of others [for[4]] her service; her foreseeing [of[5]] events; her usage of occasions; —he that shall consider of these, and other things that may not well be touched, as he shall never cease to wonder at such a queen, so he shall wonder the less, that in so dangerous times, when wits are so cunning, humours [so[6]] extravagant, passions so violent, the corruptions so great, the dissimulations so deep, factions so many, she hath notwithstanding done such great things, and reigned in felicity.

To speak of her fortune (that which I did reserve for a gar- A fortuna.

[1] *no disadvantage*: MS. [2] *her* omitted in MS. [3] *is*: MS.
[4] *for* omitted in MS. [5] *of* omitted in MS. [6] *so* omitted in MS.

land of her honour), [as there is but one point in which it seemeth incomplete], and that is that she liveth a virgin and hath no children, so it is that which maketh all her other virtues and acts more sacred, more august, more divine.[1] Let them leave children that leave no other memory in their times: *Brutorum æternitas soboles.* Revolve in histories the memories of happy men, and you shall not find any of rare felicity but either he died childless, or his line spent soon after his death, or else [he[2]] was unfortunate in his children. Should a man have them to be slain by his vassals, as the *posthumus*[3] of Alexander the Great was? or to call them his imposthumes,[4] as Augustus Cæsar called his? Peruse the catalogue: Cornelius Sylla, Julius Cæsar, Flavius Vespasianus,[5] Severus, Constantinus the Great, and many more. *Generare et liberi, humana: creare et opera, divina.*[6] And therefore, this objection removed, let us proceed to take a view of her felicity.

A felicitate. A mate of fortune she never took; only some adversity she passed at the first, to give her a quicker sense of the prosperity that should follow, and to make her more reposed in the divine providence. Well, she cometh to the crown. It was no small fortune to find at her entrance some such servants and counsellors as she then found. The French king, who at this time by reason of the peace concluded with Spain and of the interest he had in Scotland mought have proved a dangerous neighbour, by how strange an accident was he taken away?[7] The King of Spain, who, if he would have inclined to reduce the Low Countries by lenity, considering the goodly revenues which he drew from those countries, [and[8]] the great commodity to annoy her state from thence, might have made mighty and perilous matches against her repose, putteth on a resolution not only to use the means of those countries, but to spend and consume all his other means, the treasure of his Indies, and the forces of his ill-compacted dominions, there and upon them. The Earls[9] that rebelled in the North,

[1] This sentence, as it stands in the MS., is evidently corrupt; I fear irrecoverably so. A whole clause seems to have dropped out; probably to the effect of that which I have supplied between the brackets. The words at the end of the paragraph, "this *objection removed*," show that an objection had been suggested.
[2] *he* omitted in MS. [3] *forthumus*: MS. [4] *impostors*: MS.
[5] *Vespanianus*: MS.
[6] *generare at liberari humana creare et operare divina*: MS.
[7] Killed by accident at a tournament, July 1559. [8] *and* omitted in MS.
[9] *Carles*: MS. The Earls were the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; the time, November, 1569.

before the Duke of Norfolk's plot (which indeed was the strength and seal of that commotion) was fully ripe, brake forth and prevented their time. The King Sebastian of Portugal, whom the King of Spain would fain have persuaded that it was a devouter enterprise to purge Christendom than to enlarge it (though I know some think that he did artificially nourish him in that voyage), is cut a pieces with his army in Africa. Then hath the King of Spain work cut out to make all things in readiness during the old Cardinal's time for the conquest of Portugal;[1] whereby his desire of invading of England was slackened and put off some years, and by that means was put in execution at a time for some respects much more to his disadvantage. And the same invasion, like and as if it had been attempted before it had [had[2]] the time much more proper and favourable, so likewise had it in true discourse a better season afterwards; for if it had been deferred[3] till time that the League had been better confirmed in France,—which no doubt would have been, if the Duke of Guise, who was the only man of worth on that side, had lived (and the French king durst never have laid hand upon him, had he not been animated by the English victory against the Spaniards precedent),—and then some maritime town had been gotten into the hands of the League, it had been a great surety and strength to the enterprise. The Popes, to consider of them whose[4] course and policy it had been (knowing her Majesty's natural clemency) to have temporized and dispensed with the Papists coming to church, that through the mask of their hypocrisy they mought have [been[5]] brought into places of government in the state and in the country: these[6] contrariwise by the instigation of some fugitive scholars that advised them,[7] not that was best for the see of Rome, but what agreed best with their eager humours and desperate states, discover and declare themselves so far by sending most[8] seminaries and taking of reconcilements, as there is now severity of laws introduced for the repressing of that sort, and men of that religion are become the suspect. What should I speak of so many conspiracies miraculously detected? The records show the treasons: but it is yet hidden in many of them

[1] The Cardinal would not designate a successor to the crown of Portugal, for which there were several competitors. See 'Observations on a Libel.'
[2] *had* omitted in MS. [3] *dissolved:* MS.
[4] So MS. But there is certainly something wrong. [5] *have brought:* MS.
[6] *shee:* MS. [7] *him:* MS. [8] So MS.

how they came to light. What should I speak of the opportune death of her enemies, and the wicked instruments towards her estate? Don Juan died not amiss.[1] Dawbeney,[2] Duke of Lenox, who was used as an instrument to divorce Scotland from the amity of England, died in no ill season;[3] a man withdrawn indeed at that time to France, but not without great help. I may not mention the death of some that occur to mind;[4] but still methinks they live that should live, and they die that should die. I would not have the King of Spain die yet; he is *seges gloriæ*: but when he groweth dangerous, or any other besides him, I am persuaded they will die. What should I speak of the fortunes of her armies, which, notwithstanding the inward peace of this nation,[5] were never more renowned? What should I recount Leith and Newhaven for the honourable skirmishes and services? they are no blemish at all to the *militiæ* of England. In the Low Countries, the Lammas day, the retreat of Ghent, the day of Zutphen, and the prosperous progress of this summer;[6] the bravado in Portugal, and the honourable exploits in the aid of the French king, besides the memorable voyages in the Indies;[7] and lastly, the good entertainment of the Invincible Navy, which was chased till the chasers were weary [and[8]] after infinite loss, without taking a cock-boat, without firing a sheep-cot, sailed on the mercies of the wind and the discretion of their adventures,[9] making a perambulation or pilgrimage about the northern seas, and ennobling[10] many shores and points of land by shipwreck: and so returned home with scorn and dishonour much greater than the terror and expectation of their setting forth.

These[11] virtues and perfections, with so great felicity, have made her the honour of her times, the admiration of the world, the suit and aspiring of greatest kings and princes, who yet durst never have aspired unto her, but as their minds were raised by love.

But why do I forget that words do extenuate and embase

[1] October, 1578. [2] *Darleigh*: MS. [3] 1583.

[4] If the allusion here be to the Prince of Parma, for whose death (3rd December, 1592) Elizabeth is said to have allowed no rejoicing, this oration cannot have been composed so early as the Queen's Day in 1592. But Mary of Scotland may be the person meant, whose removal could not be alluded to, yet in such a connexion could not *but* be remembered. [5] *nations*: MS.

[6] In the summer of 1592 things went so well in the Low Countries, that a considerable body of the English force there was sent into Brittany.

[7] *Indians*: MS. [8] *and* omitted in MS. [9] So MS.

[10] *ignobling*: MS. [11] *The*: MS.

matters of so great weight? Time is her best commender, which never brought forth such a prince; whose imperial virtues contend with the excellency of her person, both [person and[1]] virtues contend with her fortune, and both virtue and fortune contend with her fame.

Orbis amor, famæ carmen, cœlique pupilla;
Tu decus omne tuis, tu decus ipsa tibi!

9.

It may be thought perhaps that an oration like this,—which for spirit, eloquence, and substantial worth may bear a comparison with the greatest panegyrical orations of ancient or modern times,—is too long and elaborate to have been used with good effect as part of a Court entertainment. But (not to suggest that it may have been worked upon and enlarged afterwards) there was a special circumstance which would give it at that time a peculiar and serious interest. The *Responsio ad edictum Reginæ Angliæ* had just appeared; a laboured invective against the government, charging upon the Queen and her advisers all the evils of England and all the disturbances of Christendom.[2] It was written directly in favour of Spain and the Catholic cause, and addressed itself to all disaffected spirits both at home and abroad. A copy of it had been sent the week before to Anthony Bacon by one of the Lord Keeper's secretaries, with a request that "it might be kept from any but such as were well affected and knew how to use such things;"[3] so it was quite a fresh matter. Now Francis Bacon's oration, though not directly alluding to this book (which might be thought inexpedient, as tending to give it notoriety) did by implication meet and answer the principal allegations which it contained; and therefore might well find at Court a more patient and attentive audience than a mere Court-compliment could have commanded.

Or if still it be objected that a thing so far out of the common way could hardly have passed on such an occasion without being more spoken of at the time and remembered afterwards, we may suppose if we will (a possibility never to be wholly lost sight of with regard to papers of this kind which have come down to us without any explanation but what their own contents supply), that, though designed and prepared, it was not presented.

At any rate, whatever the view with which it was composed or the use to which it was put, it is not likely that it was allowed to remain

[1] *both virtues*: MS.

[2] For a full account of it before it was out, see Harl. MS. 35. p. 372. Father Parsons is supposed to have been the writer.

[3] Birch, i. 90.

unseen by those whom it most concerned; and I suppose it was from the zeal and ability which it displayed, that Bacon was encouraged shortly after to undertake a larger work on the same subject; and to meet that libellous publication (which was sure, whether noticed or not, to find its way into circulation; especially in the quarters where it would do most mischief) with a detailed reply. Hereupon, laying aside the rhetorical and panegyrical style, he fell back into that which was proper for the occasion and natural to himself; worked up the substance of his oration into a narrative and argumentative form; and enlarging his plan to take in the whole state of the kingdom and all the matters in dispute, produced these *Observations on a Libel published this present year* 1592, which were circulated—and, to judge by the number of old copies still extant, circulated extensively—at the time in manuscript; and must always keep their value, not only as a historical record of the times, but as a specimen of the manner in which this kind of controversy ought to be conducted.

They were first printed by Dr. Rawley in the 'Resuscitatio,' from a manuscript remaining among Bacon's papers; the same probably which is now in the British Museum (Additional: 4263, p. 144). This MS. does not seem however to have been so carefully revised as to give it any conclusive authority; nor is the printed copy quite correct; in which moreover alterations appear to have been introduced here and there by the editor upon conjecture, some of which are certainly wrong. I have therefore sought, and I hope found, a more perfect text, by collating all the original MSS. which I have met with; which are these following:—

1. *Harl. MSS.* 537, pp. 26 and 71.—A copy in an old hand,—the hand (I believe) of one of Bacon's servants: but not revised; and a great part unfortunately lost. This, though not without errors, is upon the whole the most correct of the remaining copies. I call it A.

2. *Additional MSS.* 4263, p. 144.—Another copy, also in an old hand;[1] apparently from the same original: revised and corrected by another hand; but not by Bacon. This is also a good MS., though with many errors. I call it C.

These two are independent copies of the same original, and each serves to correct the other.

3. *Harl. MSS.* 6401.—A copy in a later hand, but still old; and by an intelligent transcriber, who has attended to the meaning and the punctuation: the corrections are in the transcriber's own hand, and may have been conjectural.

[1] Except the introduction, which has been affixed afterwards, in one of the hands employed by Dr. Rawley for the 'Resuscitatio.'

This copy must have been from a different original; many of the variations being evidently not errors, but alterations. I call it B.

4. *Harl. MSS.* 6854, p. 203.—Another copy, from the same original as the last, in an old Saxon hand, uncorrected, and extremely incorrect. I call it H.

5. *Cambridge Univ. Lib. Mm. V.* 5.—This is a kind of abridgment or abstract of the whole: but not a full copy, except in parts. I call it G.

6. *Cotton MSS. Tit. C.* vii. p. 50 b.

7. *Harl. MSS.* 859, p. 40.—These two (which I call D and F) are copies of the 3rd section only; made some years later; and of no especial value: except that D is a little fuller in some places, as if taken from a different original, which had been corrected; perhaps by Bacon himself.

8. *Cotton MSS. Jul. F.* vi. p. 158.—A fair copy, in a small clear Roman hand, but only of a portion of the 5th and 6th sections. It seems to have been taken from the same original as B and H; and is careful and accurate, though not so old. This I call E.

The copy in the 'Resuscitatio' appears, as I have said, to have been taken from C; but with some variations, silently introduced, as I suppose, by the editor, where he thought the original required correction. These variations seem to have been merely conjectural; and some of them are certainly wrong.

By collating all these MSS. with each other, I have endeavoured to recover the original text from which A and C were transcribed, which I take to have been a *corrected* copy of the original used by the transcribers of B and H; not trying to remove those irregularities and inaccuracies of construction, the fruit of careless and rapid composition, which frequently occur; but on the contrary carefully preserving them, as illustrative not only of the natural working of Bacon's mind, whose fullness and eagerness of thought was at all times apt to outrun his powers of grammatical expression, but also of the history of the English language, then gradually finding its powers, and settling, but not settled, into form. Yet that the reader may have the means of judging for himself upon these points,—wherever A, B, C, D, E, or F, have a different reading from that which I have adopted in the text, I have mentioned it (oversights excepted) in the footnotes; even where such reading is obviously a blunder; for otherwise the comparative authority to which the several MSS. are entitled could not be fairly estimated. H is so full of inaccuracies that where it varies from all the others, I have not thought it worth while to notice the fact. G, not being a full transcript, I have only quoted now and then in corroboration of the text. The printed copy in the

'Resuscitatio,' which has been followed in all former editions of Bacon's works, since it does not appear to have any authority independent of the MSS., I have not collated regularly, but only cited occasionally where some important difference occurs.

I have not succeeded in ascertaining the exact time at which this treatise was composed, but I suppose it to have been in January or February, 1592-3; when Bacon had just completed his 32nd year, and was about to play a conspicuous part in a new Parliament—a part which brought out his character in some new aspects and had a serious influence upon his after-fortunes. With this treatise therefore I shall conclude this chapter.

CERTAIN OBSERVATIONS MADE UPON A LIBEL PUBLISHED THIS PRESENT YEAR, 1592.

ENTITLED,

A Declaration of the true Causes of the great Troubles, presupposed to be intended against the Realm of England.[1]

IT were just and honourable for princes being in wars together, that howsoever they prosecute their quarrels and debates by arms and acts of hostility, yea though the wars be such as they pretend the utter ruin and overthrow of the forces and states one of another, yet they so limit their passions as they preserve two things sacred and inviolate;[2] that is, the life and good name each of other. For the wars are no massacres and confusions; but they are the highest trials of right; when princes and states that acknowledge no superior upon earth shall put themselves upon the justice of God, for the deciding of their controversies by such success as it shall please him to give on either side. And as in the process of particular pleas between private men all things ought to be ordered by the rules of civil laws; so in the proceedings of the war nothing ought to be done against the law of nations or the law of honour; which laws have ever pronounced these two sorts of men,—the one conspirators against the persons of princes, the other libellers against their good fame,—to be such enemies of common society as are not to be cherished, no not by enemies. For in the examples of times which were less corrupted we find that when in the greatest heats

[1] This appears to have been an English version of the *Responsio ad Edictum*; but I have not been able to meet with a copy of it.

[2] *inviolable*: C.

and extremities of wars there have been made offers of murderous and traitorous attempts against the person of a prince to the enemy, they have been not only rejected, but also revealed; and in like manner when dishonourable mention hath been made of a prince before an enemy prince by some that have thought therein to please his humour, he hath showed himself contrariwise utterly distasted therewith, and been ready to contest for the honour of an enemy.

According to which noble and magnanimous kind of proceeding, it will be found that in the whole course of her Majesty's proceeding with the King of Spain, since the amity interrupted, there was never any project by her Majesty or any of her ministers either moved or assented unto, for the taking away of the life of the said king; neither hath there been any declaration or writing of estate, no nor book allowed, wherein his honour hath been touched or taxed, otherwise than for his ambition; a point which is necessarily interlaced with her Majesty's own justification. So that no man needeth to doubt but that those wars are grounded, upon her Majesty's part, upon just and honourable causes, which have so just and honourable a prosecution; considering it is a much harder matter when a prince is entered into wars, then to hold respect and not to be transported with passion, than to make moderate and just resolutions in the beginning.

But now if a man look on the other part, it will appear that (rather, as it is to be thought, by the solicitation of traitorous subjects, which is the only poison and corruption of all honourable war between foreigners, or by the presumption of his agents and ministers, than by the proper inclination of that king) there hath been, if not plotted and practised yet at the least comforted, conspiracies against her Majesty's sacred person; which nevertheless God's goodness hath used and turned, to show by such miraculous discoveries into how near and precious care and custody it hath pleased him to receive her Majesty's life and preservation. But in the other point, it is strange what a number of libellous and defamatory books and writings, and in what variety, and with what art and cunning handled, have been allowed to pass through the world in all languages against her Majesty and her government; sometimes pretending the gravity and authority of church stories, to move belief; sometimes formed into remon-

strances and advertisements of estate, to move regard; sometimes presented as it were in tragedies of the persecutions of Catholics, to move pity; sometimes contrived into pleasant pasquils and satires, to move sport; so as there is no shape whereunto these fellows have not transformed themselves, nor no humour nor affection in the mind of man to which they have not applied themselves, thereby to insinuate their untruths and abuses of the world. And indeed let a man look into them, and he shall find them the only triumphant lies that ever were confuted by circumstances of time and place, confuted by contrariety in themselves, confuted by the witness of infinite persons that live yet and have had particular knowledge of the matters; but yet avouched with such asseveration, as if either they were fallen into that strange disease of the mind which a wise writer describeth in these words, *fingunt simul creduntque*; or as if they had received it as a principal precept and ordinance of their seminaries, *audacter calumniare, semper aliquid hæret*; or as if they which in old time were wont to help themselves with lying miracles were now fain to help themselves with miraculous lies.[1] But when the cause of this is entered into,—namely, that there passeth over[2] out of this realm a number of eager and unquiet scholars, whom their own turbulent and humorous nature presseth out to seek their adventures abroad; and that there on the other side they are nourished rather in listening after news and intelligence[3] and in whisperings than in any commendable learning; and after a time, when either their necessitous estate or their ambitious appetites importune them, they fall on[4] devising how to do some acceptable service to that side which maintaineth them; so as ever when[5] their credit waxeth cold with foreign princes, or that their pensions are ill paid,[6] or some preferment is in sight at which they level, straightways out cometh a libel, pretending thereby to keep in life the party of ill subjects[7] within the realm (wherein they are as wise as he that thinketh to kindle

[1] So all the MSS. The 'Resuscitatio,' which all the modern editions follow, has, *or as if they were of the race which in old time were wont to help themselves with miraculous lyes.* The transcriber having missed out a line, the editor, finding the sentence incomplete, put in the words *were of the race*, to make sense of it; a good instance of the way in which texts become hopelessly corrupt.

[2] *ever*: B, H. [3] *intelligences*: A, H.

[4] *fall to*: B, C. *to fall to*: H. [5] *so that ever as*: B, H.

[6] *apayd*: C. *or their pensions ill-paid*: H. *or their pensions are ill-paid*: B.

[7] *evil subjects*: B. *all subjects*: H. *the party which within the realm is contrary to the state*: A.

a fire by blowing in the dead ashes)—when, I say, a man looketh into the cause and ground of this plentiful yield of libels, he will cease to marvel; considering the concurrence which is as well in the nature of the seed as in the travail of tilling and dressing, yea and in the fitness of the season for the bringing up of these[1] infectious weeds.

But to verify the saying of our Saviour, *non est discipulus super magistrum,* as they have sought to deprave her Majesty's government in herself, so have they not forgotten to do the same in her principal servants and counsellors; thinking belike that as the immediate invectives against her Majesty do best satisfy the malice of the foreigner,[2] so the slander and calumniation of her principal counsellors agreeth[3] best with the humours of some malcontents within the realm; imagining also that it was like such books[4] should be more read here and freelier dispersed, and also should be less odious to those foreigners which were not merely partial and passionate; who have for the most part in detestation the traitorous libellings of subjects directly against their natural prince.

Amongst the rest in this kind, there hath been published this present year of 1592 a libel that giveth place to none of the rest in malice and untruths,[5] though inferior to most of them in penning[6] and style; the author having chosen the vein of a Lucianist, and yet being a counterfeit even in that kind. This libel is entitled, *A Declaration of the true Causes of the great Troubles presupposed to be intended against the Realm of England,*[7] and hath a semblance as if it were only[8] bent against the doings of her Majesty's ancient and worthy counsellor the Lord Burghley, whose carefulness and pains her Majesty hath used in her counsels and actions of this realm for these four and thirty years' space in all dangerous times and amidst many and mighty practices, and with such success as our enemies are put still to their paper-shot of such libels as these; the memory whereof will remain in this land when all these[9] libels shall be extinct and forgotten, according to the Scripture, *Memoria justi cum laudibus, at impiorum nomen putrescet.* But it is more than evident by the parts of the same[10] book that the author's malice was to her Majesty

[1] *those*: C. [2] *the foreigner's malice*: B. [3] *agreed* in all the MSS.
[4] *they*: A, C. [5] *untruth*; B, H. [6] *the penning*: A.
[7] *A declaration*, etc., ut supra: B. [8] *only* omitted in A, C.
[9] *the*: A. [10] *that book*: H.

and her government; as may specially appear in this, that he chargeth[1] not his Lordship with any particular actions of his private life (such power had[2] truth), whereas the libels made against other counsellors have principally insisted upon that part,[3] but hath only wrested and detorted[4] such actions of state as in times of his service have been managed, and depraving them hath ascribed and imputed to him the effects that have followed indeed to the good of the realm and the honour of her Majesty, though sometimes to the provoking of the malice, but abridging of the power and means, of desperate and incorrigible[5] subjects.

All which slanders as his Lordship might justly despise, both for their manifest untruths and for the baseness and obscurity of the author, so nevertheless, according to the moderation which his Lordship useth in all things, never claiming the privilege of his authority when it is question[6] of satisfying the world, he hath been content that they be not passed over altogether in silence;[7] whereupon I have, in particular duty to his Lordship (amongst others that do honour and love his Lordship and that have diligently observed his actions) and in zeal of truth, collected[8] upon the reading of the said libel certain observations;[9] not in form of a just answer, lest I should fall into the error whereof Salomon speaketh thus, *Answer not a fool in his own kind, lest thou also be like him*; but only to discover the malice and to reprove and convict the untruths thereof: [not doubting but if his Lordship were disposed to enter himself with the libeller into contestation (which he disdaineth to do) he would with a multitude of good witnesses which have been partakers with him in his public service, yea with a princely asseveration of her Majesty (to whom his fidelity is best known), confound the libeller and make him justly odious to all good men; yea even to a number of persons that for respect of religion do not allow of his actions, and yet in some moderation do not condemn him for his life and manners, nor for his dexterity in all civil causes both of state and justice].[10]—

[1] *charged*: A, C. [2] *hath*: B.
[3] *part* omitted in B, H, and the words repeated in H.
[4] *extorted*: C. [5] *irrevocable*: B, C, H. [6] *questioned*: B. *in question*: A.
[7] So A. *he hath thought convenient*: C. *His Lordship's friends have thought it convenient not* [*not convenient*: H] *to pass them over altogether in silence (as others have done)*: B.
[8] *marked*: B, H. [9] *certain observations* omitted in B.
[10] The passage within brackets is found with one or two slight variations, obviously accidental, in B, C, H; not in A.

The points that I have observed upon the reading of this libel are these following:

I. Of the scope or drift of the libeller.

II. Of the present estate[1] of this realm of England, whether it may be truly avouched to be prosperous or afflicted.

III. Of the proceedings against the pretended Catholics, whether they have been violent or moderate and necessary.

IV. Of the disturbance of the quiet of Christendom, and to what causes it may be justly imputed.

V. Of the cunning of the libeller, in palliation of his malicious invective against her Majesty and the state with pretence of taxing only the actions of the Lord Burghley.

VI. Certain true general notes upon the actions of the Lord Burghley.

VII. Of divers particular untruths and abuses dispersed through the libel.

VIII. Of the height of impudency that these men are grown unto in publishing and avouching untruths; with particular recital of some of them for an assay.

I. *Of the scope or drift of the libeller.*

It is good advice in dealing with cautelous and malicious persons (whose speech is ever at distance with their meanings), *non quid dixerint sed quid spectârint videndum;* a man is not to regard what[2] they affirm or what they hold, but what they would convey under their pretended discourse,[3] and what turn they would serve.

It soundeth strange[4] in the ears of an Englishman,[5] that "the miseries of the present estate of England exceed them of all[6] former times whatsoever." One would straightway think with himself, doth this man believe what he saith; or, not believing it, doth he think it possible to make us believe it? Surely, in my conceit, neither of both. But his end no doubt was, to round the Pope and the King of Spain in the ear by seeming to tell a tale to the people of England. For such books are ever wont to be translated into divers languages; and no doubt the man was not so simple as to think he could persuade the people of England the

[1] *state*: B. [2] *that which*: B. [3] *course*: H. *discoverie*: A.
[4] *strangely*: C. [5] *all Englishmen*: A. [6] *all* omitted in A and C.

contrary of that they taste and feel; but he thought he might better abuse the states abroad if he directed his speech to them who could best convict him and disprove him if he said untrue; so that as Livy saith in the like case, *Ætolos magis coram quibus verba facerent quam ad quos pensi habere;* that the Ætolians, in their talk[1] did more respect those which did overhear[2] them than those to whom they directed their speech; so in this matter[3] this fellow cared not to be counted a liar by all England, upon price of deceiving of Spain and Italy. For it must be understood that it hath been the general practice of this kind of men many years,—of the one side, to abuse the foreign estates by making them believe that all is out of joint and ruinous here in England, and that there is a great part ready to join with the invader; and on the other side, to make evil subjects of England believe of great preparations abroad and in great readiness to be put in act; and so to deceive on both sides. And this I take to be[4] his principal drift. So again it is an extravagant and incredible conceit to imagine that all the conclusions and actions of estate which have passed during her Majesty's reign should be ascribed to one counsellor alone, and to such an one as was never noted for an imperious or overruling man. And to say that though he carried them not by violence, yet he compassed them by device,—there is no man of judgment that looketh into the nature of these times, but will easily descry that the wits of these days are too much refined, and practice too much in use,[5] for any man to walk invisible, or to make all the world his instruments. And therefore, no not in this point assuredly, the libeller spake as he thought. But this he foresaw, that the imputation of cunning doth breed suspicion, and the imputation of greatness and sway doth breed envy. And therefore finding[6] where he was most wrung and by whose[7] policy and experience their plots were most crossed, the mark he shot at was to see whether he could heave at his Lordship's authority by making him suspected to the Queen or generally odious to the realm; knowing well enough for the one point, that there are not only jealousies, but certain revolutions in princes' minds, so that it is a rare virtue in the rarest princes to continue constant to the end in their favours and

[1] *tale:* C, H. [2] *ever hear:* A, C.
[3] *in like manner:* H. *in the same manner:* B. [4] *have been:* B, H.
[5] From *and* to *use* omitted in A, C. [6] *feeling:* B. [7] *his:* A.

employments; and knowing for the other point, that envy ever accompanieth greatness though never so well deserved, and that his Lordship hath always[1] marched a round and real[2] course in service, and as he hath not moved envy by pomp and ostentation, so hath he never extinguished it by any popular or insinuative carriage of himself. And this no doubt was his second drift.

A third drift was, to assay if he could supplant and weaken (by this violent[3] kind of libelling, and turning the whole imputation upon his Lordship[4]) his resolution and courage, and to make him proceed more cautely[5] and not so throughly[6] and strongly against them;[7] knowing his Lordship to be a politic man, and one that hath a great stake to lose.

Lastly, lest while I discover the cunning and art of this fellow,[8] I should make him wiser than he was, I think a great part of the cause of[9] this book was passion. *Difficile est tacere cum doleas.* The humours of these men being of themselves eager and fierce, have by the abort and blasting of their hopes been kindled[10] and enraged. And surely this book is of all that sort that have[11] been written of the meanest workmanship; being fraughted[12] with sundry base scoffs and cold amplifications and other characters of despite, but void of all judgment or ornament.

II. *Of the present state of this realm of England, whether it may be truly avouched to be prosperous or afflicted.*

The benefits of Almighty God upon this land, since the time that in his singular providence he led as it were by the hand and placed in the kingdom his servant our Queen Elizabeth, are such as, not in boasting or in confidence of ourselves but in praise of his blessed[13] name, are worthy to be both considered and confessed, yea and registered in perpetual memory. Notwithstanding, I mean not after the manner of a panegyric to extol the present time. It shall suffice only that those men that through the gall and bitterness of their own heart have lost their

[1] *ever*: H. [2] *a real*: A, C. [3] *violent* omitted in B.
[4] *upon his Lordship's resolution*: B, H.
[5] *cautelly*: A. *cautellie*: C. *cautelously*: H. [6] *thoroughly*: B.
[7] *against them* omitted in B. [8] *the libeller*: B.
[9] *the cause of* omitted in A, C. *of this book* omitted in H. [10] *blynded*: A.
[11] *this book of all*, etc., *written, is*: B. *hath*: C, H. [12] *fraught*: A, H. [13] *holy*: A.

taste and judgment, and would deprive God of his glory and us of our senses in affirming our condition to be miserable and full of tokens of the wrath and indignation of God, be reproved.

If then it be true that *nemo est miser aut felix nisi comparatus;* whether we shall (keeping ourselves within the compass of our own island) look into the memories of times past, or at this present time take a view of other states abroad in Europe, we shall[1] find that we need not give place to the happiness either of ancestors or neighbours.[1] For if a man weigh well all the parts of state,—religion, laws, administration of justice, policy of government, manners, civility, learning and liberal sciences, industry and manual arts, arms and provisions of wars[2] for sea and land, treasure, traffic, improvement of the soil, population, honour and reputation,—it will appear that, taking one part with another, the state of this nation was never more flourishing.

It is easy to call to remembrance out of histories the kings of England which have in more ancient time enjoyed greatest happiness; besides her Majesty's father and grandfather, that reigned in rare felicity, as is fresh in memory. They[3] have been King Henry I., King Henry II., King Henry III., King Edward I., King Edward III., King Henry V. All which have been princes of royal virtue, great felicity, and famous memory. But it may be truly affirmed, without derogation to any of these[4] worthy princes, that (whatsoever we find in libels) there is not to be found in the English chronicles a king that hath, in all respects laid together, reigned with such felicity as her Majesty hath done. For as for the first three Henries, the first came in too soon after a conquest, the second too soon after an usurpation, and the third too soon after a league or barons' war, to reign with security and contentation. King Henry I. also had unnatural wars with his brother Robert, wherein much nobility was consumed; he had therewithal tedious wars in Wales, and was not without some other seditions and troubles, as namely the great contestation of his prelates.[5] King Henry II., his happiness was much deformed by the revolt of his son Henry, after he had associated him, and of his other sons. King Henry III., besides the continual wars in Wales, was after forty-four

[1] *of our ancestors or our neighbours:* B, H.
[2] *provision of war:* B. H. [3] *there:* C. [4] *those:* B, H.
[5] This sentence, from *King Henry I.* to *prelates*, omitted in B.

years' reign, unquieted with intricate commotions of his barons; as may appear by the mad parliament held at Oxenford, and the acts thereupon ensuing. His son King Edward I. had a more flourishing time[1] than any of the other; came to the kingdom at ripe years, and with great[2] reputation upon his voyage into the Holy Land, and was loved and obeyed, pollicied[3] his realm with excellent laws, contrived his wars with great judgment; first having reclaimed Wales to a settled allegiance, and being upon the point of uniting[4] Scotland. But yet I suppose it was more honour for her Majesty to have so important a piece of Scotland in her hand and the same with such justice to render up, than it was for that worthy king to have advanced in such forwardness the conquest of that nation. And for King Edward III., his reign was visited with much sickness and mortality; so as they reckoned in his days three several mortalities; one in the 22nd year, another in the 35th year, and the last in the 43rd[5] year of his reign; and being otherwise victorious and in prosperity, was by that only cross more afflicted than he was by the other prosperities comforted. Besides he entered hardly; and again, according to the verse *cedebant ultima primis*, his latter times were not so prosperous. And for King Henry V., as his success was wonderful, so he wanted *temporis fiduciam*,[6] continuance; being extinguished after ten years' reign in the prime of his fortunes.

Now for her Majesty, we will first speak of the blessing of *continuance*; as that which wanted in the happiest of these kings, and is not only a great favour of God unto the prince, but also a singular benefit unto the people. For that sentence of the Scripture, *misera natio cum multi sunt principes ejus*, is interpreted not only to extend[7] to divisions and distractions in government, but also to frequent changes in succession; considering that the change of a prince ever[8] bringeth in many changes which are harsh and unpleasant to a great part of the subjects. It appeareth then, that of the line of five hundred and fourscore[9] years and more, containing the number of twenty-two kings,

1. Continuance.

[1] *reign*: B, H.
[2] *great* omitted in B, H. *with a voyage*: C. *with after his voyage*: A.
[3] So H. *polished*: B. *pollished*: G. The other MSS. omit the clause.
[4] *settling*: B. [5] Blanks left for these dates in B and H.
[6] *temporis fiduciam* omitted in A, C. [7] *to extend not only*: B, H.
[8] *ever* omitted in A. [9] So A, C. 580: B, H. It should have been 520.

God hath already prolonged her Majesty's reign to exceed sixteen of the said two-and-twenty; and by the end of this present year,[1] which God prosper, she shall attain to be equal with two more; during which time there have deceased four Emperors, as many French kings, twice so many bishops of Rome; yea, every state in Christendom, except Spain, have received sundry successions; and for the King of Spain, he is waxed so infirm and thereby so retired, as the report of his death serveth for every year's news; whereas her Majesty (thanks be to God) being nothing decayed in vigour of health and strength, was never more able to supply and sustain the weight of her affairs, and is, as far as standeth with the dignity of her Majesty royal, continually to be seen, to the great comfort and hearts-ease of her people.

2. Health. Secondly, we will mention the blessing of *Health*; I mean generally of the people; which was wanting in the reign of another of these kings, which else deserved to have the second place in happiness; which is one of the great favours of God towards any nation. For as there be three scourges of God,—war, famine, and pestilence,—so are there three benedictions,—peace, plenty, and health. Whereas therefore this realm hath been often visited in times past with sundry kinds of mortalities,—as pestilences, sweats, and other contagious diseases,—it is so, that in her Majesty's times, being of the continuance aforesaid, there was only towards the beginning of her reign some sickness between June and February in the City; but not dispersed into any other part of the realm, as was noted; which we call yet the great plague; because that though it was nothing so grievous nor so sweeping as it had[2] been sundry times heretofore, yet it was great in respect of the health which hath followed sithence;[3] which hath been such (especially of late years) as we began to dispute and move questions of the causes whereunto it should be ascribed, until such time as it pleased God to teach us that we ought to ascribe it only[4] to his mercy, by touching us a little this present year;[5] but with a very gentle hand, and such as it hath pleased him since to remove. But certain it is, for so many years together, notwithstanding the great pestering of people in houses, the

[1] The present regnal year. Elizabeth's thirty-fifth year was completed on the 16th of November, 1593; which made her equal with Henry II. and Edward I. Hence this must have been written *after* November 16, 1592.

[2] *hath*: B, H. [3] *since*: B, H. [4] *only* omitted in A.

[5] The sickness of 1592 began about the middle of August.

great multitude of strangers, and the sundry voyages by sea[1] (all which have been noted to be causes of pestilence), the health universal[2] of the people was never so good.

3. Peace. The third blessing is that which all the politic and fortunate kings before recited have wanted; that is, *Peace*. For there was never foreigner since her Majesty's reign by invasion or incursion of moment that took any footing within the realm of England. One rebellion there hath been only, but such an one as was repressed within the space of seven weeks, and did not waste the realm so much as by the destruction or depopulation of one poor town. And for wars abroad, taking in those of Leith, those of Newhaven, the second expedition into Scotland, the wars with[3] Spain, which I reckon from the year '86 or '87[4] (before which time neither had the King of Spain withdrawn his ambassadors here residing, neither had her Majesty received into her[5] protection the United Provinces of the Low Countries), and the aids of France, they have not occupied in time a third part of her Majesty's reign, nor consumed past two of any noble house (whereof France took one and Flanders another), and very few besides of quality or appearance. They have scant mowed down the overcharge of the people which have been bred within the realm. It is therefore true that the kings aforesaid and others her Majesty's progenitors have been victorious in their wars, and have made many famous and memorable voyages and expeditions into sundry parts; and that her Majesty contrariwise from the beginning put on a firm resolution to content herself with those limits of her dominions which she received, and to entertain peace with her neighbour princes; which resolution she hath ever since (notwithstanding she hath had rare opportunities, just claims and pretences, and great and mighty means) sought to continue. But if this be objected to be the less honourable fortune, I answer that even[6] amongst the heathen (who held not the expense of blood so precious as Christians ought to do), the peaceable government of Augustus Cæsar was ever as highly esteemed as the victories[7] of Julius his uncle; and that the name of *pater patriæ* was ever as honourable as that of *propagator imperii*. And this I add further, that during this inward peace of so many years, in the actions of

[1] *seas*: A, C. [2] *universally*: B, H. [3] *of*: A.
[4] Blanks left in B for these dates: in H they are omitted altogether.
[5] *her* omitted in C, B, H. [6] *ever*: A, C. [7] *victorious*: B.

war before[1] mentioned which her Majesty either in her own defence or in just and honourable aids hath undertaken, the service hath been such as[2] hath carried no note of a people whose militia[3] were degenerated through long peace, but hath every way answered the ancient reputation of the English arms.

4. Plenty and wealth.

The fourth blessing is *Plenty* and *Abundance*. And first for grain and all victuals,[4] there cannot be more evident proof of the plenty than this; that whereas England was wont to be fed by other countries from the east, it sufficeth now to feed other countries;[5] so as we do many times transport and serve sundry foreign countries; and yet there was never the like multitude of people to eat it within the realm. Another evident proof thereof may be, that the good yields of corn which have been, together with some toleration of vent, hath of late time invited and enticed men to break up more ground and to convert it to tillage, than all the penal laws for that purpose made and enacted could ever by compulsion effect. A third proof may be, that the prices of grain and victual were never of late years more reasonable.

Now for arguments of the great wealth and plenty[6] in all other respects, let the points following[7] be considered.

There was never the like number of fair and stately houses as have been built and set up from the ground since her Majesty's reign; insomuch that there have been reckoned in one shire that is not great to the number of three and thirty, which have been all new built within that time; and whereof the meanest was never built for two thousand pounds.

There were never the like pleasures of goodly gardens and orchards, walks, pools, and parks, as do adorn almost every mansion house.

There was never the like number of beautiful and costly tombs and monuments, which are erected in sundry churches in honourable memory[8] of the dead.

There was never the like quantity of plate, jewels, sumptuous movables and stuff, as is now within the realm.

There was never the like quantity of waste and unprofitable ground inned, reclaimed, and improved.

[1] *afore*: B, H.
[2] *hath been such as* omitted in B.
[3] *militiæ*: B.
[4] *and victuall*: C. *other victuall*: B.
[5] *countries* omitted in B.
[6] *and plenty* omitted in A.
[7] *these following*: A.
[8] *mention*: A.

There was never the like husbanding of all sorts of grounds by fencing, manuring, and all kinds[1] of good husbandry.

The towns were never better built nor peopled; nor the principal fairs and markets never better customed nor frequented.

The commodities and eases[2] of rivers cut by the hand and brought into a new channel, of piers that have been built, of waters that have been forced and brought against the ground, were never so many.

There was never so many excellent artificers, nor[3] so many new handicrafts used and exercised, nor new commodities made within the realm; as sugar, paper, glass, copper, divers silks, and the like.

There was never such[4] complete and honourable provision of horse, armour, weapon, ordinance of[5] the war.

5. Increase of people.

The fifth blessing hath been the great *Population* and multitude of families increased within her Majesty's days. For which point I refer myself to the proclamations of restraint of building in London, the inhibition of inmates in sundry cities,[6] the restraint of cottages by Act of Parliament; and sundry other tokens of record of the surcharge of people.

Besides these parts of a government blessed from God, wherein the condition of the people hath been more happy in her Majesty's times than in the times of her progenitors, there are certain singularities and particulars[7] of her Majesty's reign, wherein I do not say that we have enjoyed them in a more ample degree and proportion than in former ages (as it hath fallen out in the points afore-mentioned), but such as were in effect unknown and untasted heretofore.

Reformation in Religion.

As first, the *Purity of Religion*; which is a benefit inestimable, and was in the time of all former princes, until the days of her Majesty's father of famous memory, unheard of. Out of which purity of religion have since ensued, besides[8] the principal effect of the true knowledge and worship of God, three points of great consequence unto the civil estate. One, the stay of a mighty treasure within the realm,[9] which in foretimes was drawn forth to Rome: Another, the dispersing and distribution of those reve-

Three special benefits established among us by the purity of religion.

[1] *all kind*: B, C. *kinds of* omitted in H. [2] *ease of rivers cut by hand*: A, C.
[3] *and*: A. [4] *the like*: B. [5] *weapons and ordnance for*: B.
[6] *towns*: A. [7] *peculiars*: B, G, H. [8] *beside*: A. [9] *kingdom*: B.

nues (amounting to a third part of the land of the realm, and that of the goodliest and the richest sort) which heretofore were unprofitably spent in monasteries, into such hands as by whom the realm receiveth at this day service and strength, and many great houses have been set up and augmented: The third, the manumizing[1] and enfranchising of the regal dignity from the recognition of a foreign superior. All which points, though begun by her father and continued by her brother, were yet nevertheless after an eclipse or intermission restored and re-established by her Majesty's self.

Fineness of money.

Secondly, the *Fineness of Money*. For as the purging away of the dross of religion, the heavenly treasure, was common to her Majesty with her father and her brother, so the purging of the[2] base money, the[3] earthly treasure, hath been altogether proper to her Majesty's own times; whereby our moneys bearing the natural estimation of the metal and not the legal estimation[4] of the stamp or mark, both every man resteth assured of his own value, and also[5] free from the losses and deceits which fall out in other places upon the rising and falling of moneys.

The might of the navy.

Thirdly, the might of the *Navy* and augmentation of the *Shipping* of the realm; which by politic constitutions for maintenance of fishing and the encouragement and assistance given to the undertakers of new discoveries and trades by sea is so advanced, as this island is become (as[6] the natural site thereof deserveth) the Lady of the Sea.

Comparison of the state of England with the states abroad.

Now to pass from the comparison of time to the comparison of place. We may find in the states abroad cause of pity and compassion in some, but of envy or emulation in none; our condition being, by the good favour of God, not inferior to any.

Afflicted, as France.

The kingdom of France, which by reason of the seat of the empire of the west[7] was wont to have the precedence of the kingdoms of Europe, is now fallen into those calamities, that, as the prophet saith, *From the crown of the head to the sole of the foot there is no whole place.* The divisions are so many and so intricate, of Protestants and Catholics, Royalists and Leaguers, Bourbonists and Lorainists,[8] Patriots and Spanish, as it seemeth

[1] *manumitting*: G. *managing*: A, C. *manurising*: H.
[2] *of base money*: B, H. [3] *and earthly*: A.
[4] *of . . . estimation* omitted in A. [5] *also* omitted in A, C. [6] *as* omitted in C.
[7] *of the west* omitted in B. [8] *Bourbonists and Lorainists* omitted in B and H.

God hath some great work to bring to pass upon that nation; yea the nobility divided from the third state, and the towns from the field. All which miseries, truly to speak, have been wrought by Spain and the Spanish faction.

Low Countries.

The Low Countries, which were within the age of a young man the richest, the best peopled, and the best built plot of Europe, are in such estate as a country is like to be in, that hath been the seat of thirty years' war; and although the sea-provinces be rather increased in wealth and shipping than otherwise, yet they cannot but mourn for their distraction from the rest of their body.

Portugal.

The kingdom of Portugal (which of late times, through their merchandising and places in the East Indies, was grown to be an opulent kingdom) is now at the last, after the unfortunate journey of Afric, in that state as a country is like to be,[1] reduced[2] under a foreign[3] obedience by conquest; and such a foreigner as was to that nation least acceptable;[4] and such a foreigner as hath his competitor in title (being a natural Portugal and no stranger, and having been once in possession) yet in life; whereby his jealousy must necessarily be increased, and through his jealousy their oppression; which is apparent by the carrying of many noble families out of their natural countries to live in exile, and by putting to death a great number of noblemen,[5] naturally born to have been principal governors of their countries.

These are the three[6] afflicted parts of Christendom. The rest of the states enjoy either[7] prosperity or tolerable condition.

Prosperous as Scotland.

The kingdom of Scotland, though at this present by the good regiment and wise proceeding of the king they enjoy good quiet, yet since[8] our peace it hath passed through no small troubles, and remaineth full of boiling and swelling humours; but like, by the maturity of the said king every day increasing, to be repressed.

Poland.

The kingdom of Poland is newly recovered out of great

[1] *be is*: B.; and in the same line, *Micque* for *Africque*.
[2] So all the MSS. *that is reduced*: Resuse. But the construction is, "in such a state as a country reduced, etc., is like to be."
[3] *foreigner*: A.
[4] *best accepted*: H. *and . . . acceptable* omitted in A, C.
[5] *out of their natural country men naturally born*, etc.: B.
[6] *the* omitted in A, C. *three* omitted in G. *the third*: B.
[7] *their*: C.
[8] *long since the continuance of our peace hath*: B, H.

wars about[1] an ambiguous election; and besides is[2] a state of that composition that, their king being elective, they do commonly choose rather a stranger than one of their own country; a great exception to the flourishing estate of any kingdom.

Sweden. The kingdom of Swedeland (besides their foreign wars upon their confiners,[3] the Muscovites and the Danes) hath been also subject to divers intestine tumults and mutations, as their stories do record.

Denmark. The kingdom of Denmark hath had good times, specially by the good government of the late king who maintained the profession of the Gospel; but yet greatly giveth place to the kingdom of England, in climate, wealth, fertility, and many other points both of honour and strength.

Italy. The states of Italy which are not under the dominion of Spain have had peace equal in continuance with ours, except in regard to that which hath passed between them and the Turk, which hath sorted to their honour and commendation. But yet they are so bridled and over-awed by the Spaniard, that possesseth the two principal members thereof and that in the two extreme parts, as they be like quillets of freehold lying[4] intermixed in the midst of a great honour or lordship; so as their quiet is intermingled, not with jealousy alone, but with restraint.

Germany. The states of Germany have had for the most part peaceable times; but yet they yield to the state of England; not only in the great honour of a great kingdom (they being of a mean[5] style and dignity), but also in many other respects both of wealth[6] and policy.

Savoy. The state of Savoy, having[7] in the old Duke's time been governed in good prosperity, hath since (notwithstanding their new great alliance with Spain, whereupon they waxed insolent to design to snatch up some piece of France)[8] after the[9] dishonourable

[1] *by*: B. *an* omitted in C. Sigismund III. was elected in 1587 by the nobles, in opposition to Maximilian, with whom he had afterwards to fight for the crown.
[2] *it is*: A.
[3] *confines*: B, C. [4] So G, H. *being*: A, B, C. [5] *meaner*: B, H.
[6] *weale and policy*: C. *in some other respects, both of Church and State, which I forbear to mention*: B, H. [7] *having been in the old Duke's time governed*: A.
[8] So B. In the 'Resuscitatio' the parenthesis is extended to *Geneva*. (No parenthesis, nor any stops hardly in A, C, H.) Charles Emanuel was repulsed from Geneva in the autumn of 1582; but the allusion may be to November, 1590, when, being invited by the Liguers of Provence to be their governor, he abandoned his war with the Genevese to follow that enterprise. The particular gentleman of Dauphiny was M. de Leediguiers; by whom he was beaten in three battles in 1591, and driven out of Provence and followed into Piedmont in 1592. [9] *a*: B.

repulse from the siege of Geneva been often[1] distressed by a particular gentleman of Dauphiny; and at this present day the Duke feeleth, even in Piedmont beyond the mountains, the weight of the same enemy; who hath lately shut up his gates and common entries between Savoy and Piedmont.

So as hitherto I do not see but that we are as much bound to the mercies of God as any other nation; considering that the fires of dissension and oppression in some parts of Christendom may serve us for lights to show us our happiness; and the good estates of other places, which we do congratulate with them for, is such nevertheless as doth not stain and exceed ours, but rather doth still leave somewhat wherein we may acknowledge an extraordinary benediction of God.

Lastly, we do not much emulate the greatness and glory of the Spaniards;[2] who having not only excluded the purity of religion, but also fortified against it by the device of their[3] inquisition (which is a bulwark against the entrance of the truth of God);[4] having, in recompense of their new purchase of Portugal, lost a great part of their ancient patrimony[5] of the Low Countries (being of far greater commodity and[6] value), or at the least holding part thereof in such sort as most of their other revenues are spent there upon their own; having lately with much difficulty rather smoothed and skinned over than healed and extinguished the commotion[7] of Arragon; having rather sowed troubles in France than reaped any[8] assured fruit thereof unto themselves; having from the attempt of England received scorn and disreputation; being at this time with the states of Italy rather suspected than either loved or feared; having in Germany and elsewhere rather much practice than any sound intelligence or amity;[9] having no such clear succession as they need object and reproach the uncertainty thereof unto another nation;—have in the end won a reputation rather of ambition than justice; and[10] in the pursuit of their ambition, rather of much enterprising than of fortunate achieving; and in their enterprising, rather[11] of doing things by treasure and expense than by forces and valour. Spain.

[1] *after*: B. [2] *Spain*: A. *Spaniard*: H. [3] *the inquisition*: B.
[4] *the entrance of God*: A. *the entrance of the church of God*: H.
[5] *their ancient patrimonies*: A. *the ancient patrimony*: B, C.
[6] *commodity and* omitted in C. [7] *commotions*: A.
[8] *any* omitted in A, C. [9] *or amity* omitted in B. [10] *and* omitted in C.
[11] *rather* omitted in B.

Now that I have given the reader a taste of England respectively and in comparison of the times past and of the states abroad, I will descend to examine the libeller's own divisions; whereupon let the world judge how easily and clean this ink which he hath cast in our faces is washed off.

Concerning the controversies in our church.

The first branch of the pretended calamities of England is the great and wonderful confusion which he saith is in the state of the church; which is subdivided again into two parts; the one, the persecutions[1] against the[2] Catholics; the other, the discord and controversies amongst ourselves. The former of which two parts I have made an article by itself; wherein I have set down a clear and simple narration of the proceedings[3] of state against that sort of subjects; adding this by the way, that there are two extremities in state concerning the causes of faith and religion; that is to say, the permission of the exercises of more religions than one, which is a dangerous indulgence and toleration; the other is the entering and sifting into men's consciences when no overt scandal is given, which is a rigorous and strainable inquisition; and I avouch the proceedings towards the pretended Catholics to have been a mean between these two extremities; referring the demonstration thereof unto the aforesaid narration in the article[4] following.

Touching the divisions in our church,[5] the libeller affirmeth that the Protestantical Calvinism (for so it pleaseth him with very good grace to term the religion with us established), is grown contemptible, and detected of idolatry, heresy, and many other superstitious abuses, by a purified sort of professors of the same Gospel; and this contention is yet grown to be more intricate by reason of a third kind of gospellers called Brownists; who, being directed by the great fervour of the unholy ghost,[6] do expressly affirm that the Protestantical Church of England is not gathered in the name of Christ but of Antichrist, and that if the prince or magistrate under her do refuse or defer to reform the church, the people may without her consent take the reformation into their own hands. And hereto he addeth the fanatical pageant of Hacket. And this is the effect of his accusation in this point.

[1] *psecutions*: C. *persecution*: B. *prosecutions*: A. [2] *the* omitted in B, C, H.
[3] *proceeding*: B, H. [4] *articles*: A, C. [5] *the Church*: B, H.
[6] *Holy Ghost*: C, H.

For answer whereunto, first it must be remembered that the church[1] of God hath been in all ages subject to contentions and schisms. The tares were not sown but where the wheat was sown before. Our Saviour Christ delivereth it for an ill note to have outward peace; saying, *when a strong man is in possession of the house* (meaning the devil) *all things are in peace.*[2] It is the condition of the church to be ever under trials; and there are but two trials; the one of persecution, the other of scandal and contention; and when the one ceaseth the other succeedeth. Nay there is scarce any one epistle of St. Paul unto the churches but containeth some reprehension of unnecessary and schismatical controversy. So likewise in the time of Constantine the Great, after the time that the church had obtained peace from persecution, straight entered sundry questions and controversies about no less matters than the essential points of the faith and the high mysteries of the Trinity. But reason teacheth us that in ignorance and implied belief it is easy to agree, as colours agree in the dark; or if any country decline into atheism then[3] controversies wax dainty, because men do think religion scarce worth the falling out for. So as it is weak divinity to account controversies an ill sign in the church.

It is true that certain men, moved with an inconsiderate detestation of all ceremonies or orders which were in use in the time of the Roman religion (as if they were without difference superstitious or polluted), and led with an affectionate imitation of the government of some Protestant churches in foreign states, have sought by books and preaching, indiscreetly and sometimes undutifully, to bring in an alteration in the extern rites and policy of the church. But neither have the grounds of the controversies extended unto any point of faith; neither hath the pressing and prosecution exceeded, in the generality, the nature of some inferior contempts; so as they have been far from heresy and sedition, and therefore rather offensive than dangerous to the church or state.

And as for those which we call Brownists, being, when they were at the most, a very small number of very silly and base people here and there in corners dispersed, they are now (thanks be to God) by the good remedies that have been used suppressed and worn out, so as there is scarce any news of them. Neither

[1] *true Church*: B, H. [2] From *saying* to *peace* omitted in B. [3] *the*: A.

had they been much known at all, had not Brown their leader written a pamphlet, wherein, as it came into his head, he inveighed more against logic and rhetoric than against the state of the church; which writing was much read; and had not also one Barrow (being a gentleman of a good house, but one that lived[1] in London at ordinaries and there learned to argue in table-talk and so was very much known in the city and abroad) made a leap from a vain and libertine youth to a preciseness in the highest degree; the strangeness of which alteration made him very[2] much spoken of.[3]

And here I note an honesty and discrètion in the libeller which I note nowhere else, in that he did forbear to lay to our charge the sect of the Family of Love. For about twelve years since, there was creeping in some secret places of the realm indeed a very great heresy, derived from the Dutch and named as was before said; which since, by the good blessing of God and by the good strength of our church, is vanished[4] and extinct. [I judge the libeller omitted it to show that he was well advertised, and that he wrote not his new books[5] out of old news; wherein he did discreetly.] But so much we see, that the diseases wherewith our church hath been visited, whatsoever these men say, have either not been malign and[6] dangerous, or else they have been as blisters in some small[7] ignoble part of the body, which have soon after fallen and gone away. For such also was the phrenetical or[8] fanatical (for I mean not to determine it[9]) attempt of Hackett; who must needs have been thought a very dangerous heretic, that could never get but two disciples, and those, as it should seem, perished in their brain; and a dangerous commotioner, that in so great and populous a city as London is could draw but those same two fellows, whom the people rather laughed at as a may-game than took any heed of what they did or said. So as it was very true that an honest poor woman said when she saw Hackett out of[10] a window pass to his execution; said she to herself, "It was foretold that

[1] *had lived*: B, H. [2] *very* omitted in B, H.
[3] The 'Resuscitatio' adds, *the matter might long before have breathed out*; which I take to be a conjectural addition of the editor's, who, not observing the true construction of the sentence, thought it was imperfect.
[4] *banished*: A, C.
[5] *his book*: B. The words within the brackets omitted in A, C.
[6] *or*: C. [7] *small* omitted in A, C. [8] *and*: A, C.
[9] *it* omitted: B. [10] *at*: C.

in the latter days there should come those that should deceive many; but in faith thou hast deceived but a few."

But it is a manifest untruth which the libeller setteth down, that there hath been no punishment done upon those which in any of the foresaid kinds have broken the laws and[1] disturbed the church and state, and that the edge of the law hath been only turned upon the pretended Catholics; for the examples are very many where, according to the nature and degree of the offence, the correction of such offenders hath not been neglected.

These be the great confusions whereof he hath accused our church, which I refer to the judgment of all indifferent and understanding persons,[2] how true they be. My meaning is not to blanch or excuse any fault of our church, nor on the other side to enter into commemoration how flourishing it is in great and learned divines or painful and excellent preachers. Let man have the reproof of that which is amiss, and God the glory of that which is good. And so much for the first branch.

Concerning the foreign enemies of this State.

In the second branch, he maketh great musters and shows of the strength and multitude of the enemies of this state; declaring in what evil terms and correspondence we stand with foreign states, and how desolate and destitute we are of friends and confederates; doubting belike how he should be able to prove and justify his assertion touching the present miseries, and therefore endeavouring at the least to maintain that the good estate which we enjoy is yet made somewhat bitter by reason of many terrors and fears. Whereupon entering into consideration of the security wherein, not by our own policy but by the good providence and protection of God, we stand at this time, I do find it to be a security of that nature and kind which Iphicrates the Athenian did commend; who being a commissioner to treat with the state of Sparta upon conditions of peace, and hearing the other side make many propositions touching security,[3] interrupted them and told them, "there was but one manner of security whereupon the Athenians could rest; which was, if the deputies of the Lacedæmonians could make it plain unto them that, after these and these things parted withal, the Lacedæmonians should not be able to hurt them though[4] they would." So it is with us. As

[1] *or*: B, H.
[2] *an indifferent and understanding person*: B, C, H.
[3] *securities*: B.
[4] *if*: A.

we have not justly provoked the hatred or enmity of any other state, so, howsoever that be, I know not at this time the enemy that hath the power to offend us though he had the will.

And whether we have given just quarrel or offence, it shall be afterwards touched in the fourth article, *touching the true causes of the disturbance of the quiet of Christendom;* as far as it is fit to justify the actions of so high a prince upon the occasion of such a libel as this. But now concerning the power and forces of any enemy, I do find that England hath sometimes apprehended with jealousy the confederation between France and Scotland; the one being upon the same continent that we are, and breeding[1] a soldier of puissance and courage not much differing from the English; the other a kingdom very opulent, and thereby able to sustain wars at very great charge, and having a brave nobility, and being a near neighbour. And yet of this conjunction there came[2] never any offence of moment unto our nation.[3] But Scotland was ever rather used by France as a diversion of an English invasion upon France than as a commodity of a French invasion upon England. I confess also, that since the unions of the kingdoms of Spain,[4] and during the time the kingdom of France was in his entire, a conjunction of those two potent kingdoms against us might have been of some terror to us. But now it is evident that the state of France is such as both those conjunctions are become impossible. It resteth that either Spain with Scotland should offend us, or Spain alone. For Scotland (thanks be to God) the amity and intelligence is so sound and strait[5] between the two crowns, being strengthened by consent in religion, nearness of blood, and continual good offices reciprocally on either side,[6] as the Spaniard himself in his own plot thinketh it easier to alter and overthrow the present state of Scotland than to remove and divide it from the amity of England. So as it must be Spain alone that we should fear; which should seem, by reason of his spacious dominions, to be a great overmatch.[7] The conceit whereof maketh me call to mind the resemblance of an ancient writer in physic; who labouring to persuade that a physician should not doubt sometimes to purge his patient though he see him very weak, entereth into a distinc-

[1] *by breeding*: A. [2] *never came*: A. [3] *unto our nation* omitted in A, C.
[4] *union of the kingdom*: B. *union of the kingdoms*: G, H.
[5] *streite*: B. *straight*: H. *secret*: A. *secreate*: C. [6] *part*: B, H.
[7] *match*: A.

tion of weakness; and saith there is a weakness of spirit, and a weakness of body; the latter whereof[1] he compareth unto a man that were otherwise very strong, but had a great pack on his neck so great as made him double again, so as one might thrust him down with his finger; which similitude and distinction both may be fitly applied to matter of state; for some states are weak through want of means, and some[2] weak through excess of burthen; in which rank I do place the state of Spain, which having out-compassed itself in embracing too much, and being itself but a barren seed-plot of soldiers, and much drained[3] and exhausted of men by the Indies and by continual wars, and as to the state of their treasure being indebted and engaged before such times as they waged so great forces in France (and therefore much more since), is not in brief an enemy to be feared by a nation seated, manned, furnished, and pollicied[4] as is[5] England.

Neither is this spoken by guess. For the experience was substantial enough, and of fresh memory, in the late enterprise of Spain upon England; what time all that goodly[6] shipping which in that voyage was consumed, was complete; what time his forces in the Low-Countries were[7] also full and entire, which now are[8] wasted to a fourth part; what time also he was not entangled with the matters of France, but was rather like to receive assistance than impediment from his friends there, in respect of the great vigour wherein the League then was, while the Duke of Guise lived.[9] And yet nevertheless all[10] this great preparation passed away like a dream. The invincible navy neither took any one bark of ours, neither yet once offered to land; but after they had been well beaten and chased, made a perambulation about the northern seas, ennobling many coasts with wracks of mighty ships; and so returned home with greater derision than they set forth with expectation.

So as we shall not need much confederacies and succours (which he saith we want[11]) for the breaking of the Spanish invasion: no, though the Spaniard should nestle in Brittaine and

[1] *a weakness of humour and a weakness of spirits, the former whereof*: B, H. The transcriber of C had originally written, *a weakness of spirit and a weakness of body*; then, his eye catching the first 'weakness,' he crossed out 'body,' and wrote *spirit and a weakness of body* over again. Then some one else crossed out these latter words and wrote, *body or humour or blood*. The text is from A.
[2] *some* omitted in A. [3] *decayed*: A, C. [4] *polliced*: A, C.
[5] B omits *is*. [6] *good*: A. [7] *was*: A, C. *also* omitted in B.
[8] *be*: A. [9] *then lived*: A, C. [10] *all* omitted in A, C. *as*: H.
[11] A, C, carry on the parenthesis to *invasion*.

supplant the French and get some port-towns into their hands there (which is yet far off), yet shall he never be so commodiously seated to annoy us as if he had kept the Low-Countries; and we shall rather fear him as a wrangling neighbour that may trespass now and then upon some straggling ships of ours, than as an invader. And as for our confederacies, God hath given us both means and minds to tender and relieve the states of others, and therefore our confederacies are rather of honour than such as we depend upon. And yet nevertheless "the apostataes and Huguenots of France" on the one part (for so he termeth the whole nobility in a manner of France, among the which a great part is[1] of his own religion, which maintain the clear and unblemished title of their lawful and natural king against[2] the seditious popular), and "the beer-brewers and basket-makers of Holland and Zealand"[3] on the other, have almost banded away between them all the Duke of Parma's forces; and I suppose the very mines of the Indies will go low, or ever the one be ruined or the other recovered. Neither again desire we better confederacies and leagues than Spain itself hath provided for us. *Non enim verbis fœdera confirmantur, sed iisdem utilitatibus.* We know to how many states the King of Spain is odious and suspected;[4] and for ourselves we have[5] incensed none by our injuries,[6] nor made any jealous by our ambition. These are in rules of policy the firmest contracts.

Let thus much be said in answer of this second branch, concerning the number of exterior enemies. Wherein my meaning is nothing less than to attribute our felicity[7] to our policy, or to nourish ourselves in the humour of security. But I hope we shall depend upon God and be vigilant; and then it will be seen to what end these false alarums[8] will come.

In the third branch of the miseries of England, he taketh upon him to play the prophet, as he hath in all the rest played the poet, and will needs divine or prognosticate the great troubles whereunto this realm shall fall after her Majesty's times; as if he that hath so singular a gift in lying[9] of the present time and

[1] *is* omitted in A. [2] *amongst*: B.
[3] The 'Resuscitatio' adds *(as he also terms them)*; words not found in any of the MSS. [4] *suspect*: B. [5] *have* omitted in A, C.
[6] *increased none of our injuries*: C. [7] *safety*: B, G, H. [8] *alarmes*: B.
[9] *speaking untruth*: B, H.

times past, had nevertheless an extraordinary grace in telling truth of the time to come; or as if the effect of the Pope's curse[1] of England were upon better advice adjourned to those days. It is true it will be misery enough for this realm (whensoever it[2] shall be) to leese such a sovereign. But for the rest, as we must repose ourselves upon the good pleasure of God, so it is an unjust charge in the libeller to impute an accident of state to the fault of the government.

It pleaseth God sometimes, to the end to make men depend upon him the more, to hide from them the clear sight[3] of future events, and to make them think that full of incertainty and difficulty which after proveth[4] certain and clear; and sometimes on the other side to cross men's expectation, and to make them find that full of difficulty and interruption which they thought to be easy and assured.[5] Neither is it any new thing for the titles of succession in monarchies to be at times less or more declared.[6] King Sebastian of Portugal, before his journey into Africk, declared no successor. The Cardinal, though he were of extreme age and were much importuned by the King of Spain and knew directly of six or seven competitors to that crown, yet rather established I know not what *interim* than decided the titles or designed any certain successor. The dukedom of Ferrara is at this day, after the death of the prince that now liveth, uncertain in the point[7] of succession. The kingdom of Scotland hath declared no successor. Nay it is very rare in hereditary monarchies, by any act of state or any recognition or oath[8] of the people, in the collateral line to establish a successor. The Duke of Orleans succeeded Charles VIII. of France, but was never declared successor in his time. Monsieur d'Angoulesme also succeeded him, but without any designation. Sons of kings themselves oftentimes through desire to reign and to prevent their time wax dangerous to their parents; how much more cousins in a more remote degree? It is lawful no doubt and honourable, if the case require, for princes to make an establishment; but as it was said, it is rarely practised in the collateral

[1] *curses*: B, C, H. [2] *that*: B, H.
[3] *the sight*: B, H. [4] *incertainty, which proveth*: A.
[5] *and to hold men in suspense, and sometimes again to cross men's expectation*, etc.: B, H. *and to make them full of difficulty and perplexity in that which*, etc.: A, B. (B agreeing with the text in the last clause, and A in the first, except that it omits *and difficulty* and *after*.) The text is from C.
[6] *less clear and certain*: B, H. [7] *points*: C. [8] *oath* omitted in A.

line. Trajan, the best emperor of Rome of a heathen that ever was; at what time the emperors did use to design successors, not so much to avoid the uncertainty of succession as to the end to have *participes curarum* for the present time, because their empire was so vast; at what time also adoptions were in use, and himself had been[1] adopted; yet never designed a successor but by his last will and testament; which also was thought to be suborned by his wife Plotina in favour of her lover Adrian.

Nothing[2] hath been done to prejudice the[3] right, and there can be but one right. But one thing I am persuaded of, that no king of Spain nor bishop of Rome shall umpire nor promote any beneficiary or feudatory king; as they designed to do even when the Scottish queen lived, whom they pretended to cherish. I will not retort the matter of succession upon[4] Spain, but use that modesty and reverence that belongeth to the majesty of so great a king, though an enemy. And so much for this third branch.

The fourth branch he maketh to be touching the overthrow of the nobility and the oppression of the people. Wherein though he may percase abuse the simplicity of some foreigner, yet to any[6] Englishman, or any that hath heard[5] of the present condition of England, he will appear to be a man of singular audacity and worthy to be employed in the defence of any paradox. And surely if he would needs have defaced the general state of England at this time, he should in wisdom rather have made some friarly declamation against the excess and[7] superfluity and delicacy of our times, than to have insisted upon the misery and poverty and depopulation of the land; as may sufficiently appear by that which hath been said.

Concerning the state of the nobility.

But nevertheless, to follow this man in his own steps. First, concerning the nobility. It is true, that there have been in ages past noblemen (as I take it) both of greater[8] possessions and of greater commandment and sway than any are at this day. One reason why the possessions are less I conceive to be, because certain sumptuous veins and humours of expense,—as apparel, gaming, maintaining of a kind of followers, and the like,—do

[1] C omits *had been*.
[2] So all the MSS. The 'Resuscitatio' has *you may be sure that nothing*, etc.
[3] *prejudicate any right*: B, G, H. [4] *unto*: A. [5] *an*: A, C.
[6] *heareth*: A, C. [7] *of*: A, C. [8] *great*, A, C.

reign more than they did in times past. Another reason is, because noblemen nowadays do deal better with their younger sons than they were accustomed[1] to do heretofore,[2] whereby the principal house receiveth many abatements. Touching the commandment, which is not indeed so great as it hath been, I take it rather to be a commendation of the time than otherwise. For men were wont factiously to depend upon noblemen; whereof ensued many partialities and divisions, besides much interruption of justice, while the great ones[3] did seek to bear out those that did depend upon them; so as the kings of this realm, finding long since that kind of commandment in noblemen unsafe unto their crown and inconvenient unto their people, thought meet to restrain the same by provision[4] of laws; whereupon grew the statute of retainers; so as men now depend upon the prince and the laws and upon no other.[5] A matter which hath also a congruity with the nature of the time; as may be seen in other countries, namely in Spain, where their *grandes* are nothing so potent and so absolute as they have been in times past. But otherwise it may be truly affirmed that the rights and pre-eminencies of the nobility were never more duly and exactly preserved unto them than they have been in her Majesty's times; the precedence of knights given to the younger sons of barons; no *subpœnas* awarded against the nobility out of the chancery, but letters; no answer upon oath, but honour; besides a number of other privileges in Parliament, court, and country. So likewise for the countenance which they receive[6] of her Majesty and the state in lieutenancies, commissions, offices, and the like, there was never a more honourable and graceful[7] regard had of the nobility; neither was there ever a more faithful remembrancer and exacter of all these particular pre-eminencies unto them, nor a more diligent searcher and register of their pedigrees, alliances, and all memorials of honour, than that man whom he chargeth to have overthrown the nobility, because a few of them by immoderate expense are decayed, according to the humour of the time which he hath not been able to resist, no not in his own house. And as for attainders, there have been in thirty-five years but five of any of the nobility, and whereof but[8]

[1] *wont*: B. [2] *heretofore used to do*: H.
[3] *great men*: A. [4] *some provisions*, A. [5] *and none other*: A, H.
[6] *may receive*: B. *which they receive* omitted in A. [7] *careful*: A.
[8] *but* omitted in C.

two came to execution; and one of them was accompanied with restitution of blood in the children; yea all of them, except Westmoreland, were such as, whether it were by favour of law or government, their heirs have, or are like to have, a great part of their possession.[1] And so much for the nobility.

Concerning the state of the common subject.

Touching the oppression of the people, he mentioneth four points.

1. The consumption of people in the wars.
2. The interruption of traffic.
3. The corruption of justice.
4. The multitude of taxations.

Unto all which points there needeth no long speech.

For the first, thanks be to God, the benediction of *Crescite et multiplicamini* is not so weak upon this realm of England, but the population thereof may afford such loss of men as were sufficient for the making our late wars, and it[2] were in a perpetuity, without being seen either in city or country. We read that when the Romans did take cense[3] of their people, whereby the citizens were numbered by the poll in the beginning of a great war, and afterwards again at the ending, there sometimes wanted a third part of the number. But let our muster-books be perused (those, I say, that certify the number of all fighting men in every shire) of 20^mo^ of the Queen,—at what time (except a handful of soldiers in the Low Countries) we expended no men in the wars,—and now again at this present time; and there will appear small diminution. There be many tokens in this realm rather of press and surcharge of people than of want and depopulation, which were before recited. Besides it is a better condition of an[4] inward peace to be accompanied with some exercise[5] of no dangerous war[6] in foreign parts, than to be utterly without apprentisage of war, whereby people grow effeminate and unpractised when occasion shall be. And it is no small strength unto the realm, that in these[7] wars of exercise and not of peril so many of our people are trained, and so many of our nobility and gentlemen have been made excellent leaders both by sea and land. As for that he objecteth [that[8]] we have no pro-

[1] *possessions*: B, H. [2] *it* omitted in A. [3] *cease*: C. *cesse*: A.
[4] A omits *an*. [5] *exercises*: A. [6] *wars*: B, H. [7] *the*: A.
[8] *that* omitted in all the copies. Perhaps they are right: *as for that* being used not for *as for that which*, but as equivalent to *and whereas* (or *and in that*) *he objecteth*, etc.

vision for soldiers at their return; though that point hath not been altogether neglected, yet I wish with all my heart that it were more ample than it is; though I have read and heard that in all estates upon cassing[1] and disbanding of soldiers many have endured necessity.

For the stopping of traffic, as I referred myself to the muster-books for the first, so I refer myself to the custom-books upon this, which will not lie, and do make demonstration of no abatement at all in these last years, but rather of rising and increase. We know of many in London and other places that are within a small time greatly come up and made rich by merchandising; and a man may speak within his compass, and affirm that our prizes by sea have countervailed any prizes upon us.[2]

And as to the justice of this realm, it is true that cunning and wealth have bred many suits and debates in law. But let these points be considered; the integrity and sufficiency of those which supply the judicial places in the Queen's courts; the good laws that[3] have been made in her Majesty's time against informers and promoters, and for the bettering of trials; the exemplar severity[4] which is used in the Star-Chamber in repressing[5] forces and frauds; the diligence and stoutness that is used by justices of assizes in encountering all countenancing[6] and bearing of causes in the country by their authorities[7] and wisdoms;[8] the great favours that have been used towards copyholders and customary tenants, which were in ancient times merely at the discretion and mercy of the lord, and are now continually relieved from hard dealing in chancery and other courts of equity; I say, let these and many other points be considered, and men will worthily conceive an honourable opinion of the justice of England.

Now to the point[9] of levies and contributions[10] of money, which he calleth exactions. First, very coldly he is not abashed

[1] So A, C. *ceasing*: H. *cassearing*: B. The 'Resuscitatio' (1657) gives *casheering*; that form of the word having by that time become the popular one. We have both forms in 'Othello.'—

That he made him
Brave me upon the watch: whereon it came
That I was *cast*.—(last scene.)

And thou by that small hurt hast *casheered* Cassio.—Act ii. sc. 2.

[2] *our losses*: B, H. [3] *which*: A. [4] *example of severity*: A.
[5] *oppressing*: A. [6] *imbracery*: B. Blank left for the word in H.
[7] *authority*: B, H. [8] *wisdom*: A, B, H. [9] *points*: A, B.
[10] *distributions*: A, C.

to bring in the gathering of[1] Paul's steeple and the lottery; trifles, and passed long since;[2] whereof the former, being but a voluntary collection of that men were freely disposed to give, never grew to so great a sum as was sufficient to finish the work for which it was appointed, and so (I imagine) was[3] converted to[4] some better use; like to that gathering which was for the fortifications of Paris;[5] save that that came to a much greater, though (as I have heard) no competent sum. And for the lottery, it was but a novelty devised and followed by some particular persons, and only allowed by the State, being as a game[6] of hazard; wherein if any gain was, it was because many[7] men thought scorn (after they had fallen from their greater hopes) to fetch their odd money. Then he mentioneth loans and privy seals; wherein he showeth great ignorance and indiscretion, considering the payments back again have been very good and certain, and much for her Majesty's honour. Indeed in other princes' times it was not wont to be so; and therefore though the name be not so pleasant,[8] yet the use of them in our times have been with small grievance. He reckoneth also new customs upon cloths, and new impost[9] upon wines. In that of cloths he is deceived; for the ancient rate of custom upon cloths was not raised by her Majesty, but by Queen Mary, a Catholic queen, and hath been only continued[10] by her Majesty; except he mean the computation of the odd yards, which in strict duty was ever answerable, though the error were but lately looked into, or rather the toleration taken away. And to that of wines, being a foreign merchandise and but a delicacy and of those which might be forborne, there hath been some increase of imposition; which hath rather made[11] the price of wine higher than the merchant poorer. Lastly, touching the number of subsidies, it is true that her Majesty, in respect of the[12] great charges of her wars both by sea and land against such a lord of treasure as is[13] the King of Spain; having for her part no Indies nor mines, and the revenues of the crown of England being such as they less

[1] *for*: A. [2] A omits *since*. [3] *it was*: A, C.
[4] *into*: B, C, H. [5] Corrected in B to *Barwick*.
[6] *gayne*: A. *gaine*: C. [7] *many* omitted in C.
[8] Meaning, "And though the *name* be for that reason not so pleasant, yet the use," etc.
[9] *imposts*: B. [10] *been commonly continued*: A.
[11] *can rather make*: A. *have rather made*: C. [12] *her*: A, C, H.
[13] *was*: H. *is* omitted in A.

grate upon the people than the revenues of any crown or state in[1] Europe; hath by the assent of Parliament according to the ancient customs of the[2] realm received divers subsidies of her people; which as they have been employed upon the defence and preservation of her subjects, not upon excessive buildings nor upon immoderate donatives nor upon triumphs and pleasures or any the like veins of dissipation of treasure, which have been familiar to many kings, so have they been yielded with great good-will and cheerfulness; as may appear by other[3] kinds of benevolence, presented to her likewise in Parliament,[4] which her Majesty nevertheless hath not put in ure. They have been taxed also and assessed with a very light and gentle hand; and they have been spared as much as may be, as may appear in that her Majesty now twice, to spare the subject, hath sold of her own lands. But he that shall look into other countries, and consider the taxes and tallages and impositions and assesses,[5] and the like, that are everywhere in use, will find that the[6] Englishman is the most master of his own value, and the[7] least bitten in his purse of any nation of Europe. Nay even at this instant in the kingdom of Spain, notwithstanding the pioners do still work in the Indian mines, the Jesuits must[8] play the pioners and mine into the Spaniards' purses, and under the colour of a ghostly exhortation contrive the greatest exaction that ever was in any realm.

Thus much in answer of these calumniations I have thought good to note touching the present state of England; which state is such, that whosoever hath been an architect in the frame therefore, under the blessing of God and the virtues[9] of our sovereign, needs[10] not to be ashamed of his work. [I pray God we may be thankful for his benefits and use them in his fear.[11]]

III. *Of the proceedings against the pretended Catholics, whether they have been violent or moderate and necessary.*

I find her Majesty's proceedings generally to have been grounded upon two principles;

The one, That consciences are not to be forced, but to be won

[1] *of*: A. [2] *this*: A. [3] *many other*: B.
[4] See D'Ewes's Journals, 18th March, 1586-7. [5] *assises*: C. *assizes*: H.
[6] *an*: B. [7] *the* omitted in B. [8] *most*: A, C. [9] *virtuousnes*: C.
[10] *need*: B, C. [11] The words within the brackets omitted in A, C.

and reduced by the force of truth, by the aid[1] of time, and the use of all good means of instruction or[2] persuasion;

The other, That causes[3] of conscience when they exceed their bounds and grow[4] to be matter of faction, leese their nature; and that[5] sovereign princes ought distinctly[6] to punish the practice or contempt, though coloured with the pretences[7] of conscience and religion.

According to these two principles, her Majesty at her coming to the crown, utterly disliking of[8] the tyranny of the Church of Rome, which had used by terror and rigour to seek commandment of men's faiths and consciences, although as a prince of great wisdom and magnanimity she suffered but the exercise of one religion,[9] yet her proceeding[10] towards the Papists was with great[11] lenity, expecting the good effects which time might work in them.

And therefore her Majesty revived[12] not the laws made in 28° and 35°[13] of her father's reign, whereby the oath of supremacy might have been offered at the king's pleasure to any subject, though he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself, and the refusal to take the same oath without further circumstance[14] was made treason. But contrariwise her Majesty (not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts and affirmations,) tempered her law so, as it restraineth[15] only manifest disobedience in impugning and impeaching advisedly and maliciously her Majesty's supreme power, and maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction. And as for the oath,[16] it was altered by her Majesty into a more grateful form;[17] the harshness of the name and appellation of *Supreme Head* was removed; and the penalty of the refusal thereof turned only into[18] a disablement to take any promotion or to exercise any charge; and yet that[19] with a liberty of being revested[20] therein, if any man shall accept thereof during his life.

[1] *by* omitted in D, F. *the* omitted in C. *with the aid*: H. *with the tract*: B.
[2] *and*: D, F. [3] *cases*: D. [4] *prove*: A, C. [5] *their*: B.
[6] *strictly*: B. [7] *with pretence*: D, F. *with the pretence*: B, H.
[8] *of* omitted in D, F.
[9] *of our religion*: F. *of one only Religion, which is generally professed throughout the realm at this present*: D.
[10] *her proceedings*: C, D, F. *the proceedings*: A. [11] *were with such great*: D.
[12] *received*: D. [13] *the five-and-twentieth and the eight-and-twentieth years*: D.
[14] *without further circumstance* omitted in D, F. [15] *restrained*: D, F.
[16] *oath itself*: D. [17] *form of words*: D. [18] *onely* omitted in A, C.
[19] *that also*: D. *with liberty*: B, D, F, H. [20] *reinvested*: D.

But after many years' toleration of a multitude of factious Papists, when Pius Quintus had excommunicated her Majesty, and the Bull[1] of excommunication was[2] published in London, whereby her Majesty was in a sort[3] proscribed, and all[4] her subjects drawn upon pain of damnation from her obedience; and that thereupon, as upon a principal motive or preparative, followed the rebellion in the north; yet notwithstanding, because many of those evil humours[5] were by that rebellion partly purged, and that she feared at that time no foreign invasion, and much less the attempts of any within the realm not backed by some succours[6] from without, she contented herself to make a law against that special case of bringing in or publishing of bulls or the like instruments; whereunto was added a prohibition, not upon pain[7] of treason, but of an inferior degree of punishment, against bringing in of *Agnus Dei*'s,[8] hallowed beads, and such other merchandise of Rome as are well-known not to be any essential part of the Roman religion, but only to be used in practice as love-tokens[9] to enchant and bewitch the people's affections from their allegiance to their natural sovereign. In all other points her Majesty continued her former lenity.

But when, about the twentieth[10] year of her reign, she had discovered in the King of Spain an intention to invade her dominions, and that a principal point of the plot[11] was to prepare a party within the realm that might adhere to the foreigner; and that the seminaries began to blossom and to send forth daily priests and professed men who should by vow taken at shrift reconcile her subjects from their[12] obedience, yea and bind many of them to attempt against her Majesty's sacred[13] person; and that by the poison they spread[14] the humours[15] of most Papists were altered,[16] and that they were no more Papists in conscience,[17] but Papists in treasonable faction;[18] then were there new laws made for the punishment of such as should submit themselves to

[1] *bill*: A, C. *bull of* omitted in H.
[2] *was* omitted in C. [3] *in sort*: C, F. *in some sort*: B, H.
[4] *all* omitted in D, F. [5] *yet because those humours*: D, F.
[6] *foreign succours*: A, C.
[7] *upon pain* omitted in A, B, D, F, H. Blank left in C.
[8] *the Agnus Dei*: C. *Agnus Dei*: B, H. [9] *lawe tokens*: D.
[10] *thirtieth*: A. [11] *of the plot* omitted in D, F. [12] *her*: A, C.
[13] *her person*: D, F. [14] *that they spread*: B, H, D, F.
[15] *the humour of papists were*: A. Blank left for *humours* in C. filled up by another hand.
[16] *much altered*: D. [17] *consciences*: F. [18] *but in treasonable factions*: D, F.

such[1] reconcilements or renunciations of obedience. For it is to be understood that[2] this manner of reconcilement in confession is of the same nature and operation that the bull itself was of, with this only difference, that whereas the bull assoiled the subjects from their obedience[3] all at once, the other doth it[4] one by one; and therefore it is both more secret and more insinuative into[5] the conscience, being joined with no less matter than an absolution from mortal sin.[6] And because it was a treason carried in the clouds and in wonderful secrecy, and came seldom to light; and that there was no presumption thereof so great as the recusance[7] to come to divine service, because it was set down by their decrees that "to come to church before reconcilement was to live in schism, but to come to church after reconcilement was absolutely heretical and damnable;" therefore there were[8] added new laws containing a punishment pecuniary against such[9] recusants, not to enforce consciences, but to enfeeble and impoverish[10] those of whom it rested indifferent and ambiguous whether they were reconciled or no. For there is no doubt but if the law of recusancy (which is challenged to be so extreme and rigorous) were thus qualified, "that any recusant that shall voluntarily come in and take his oath[11] that he or she were never reconciled should immediately be discharged of the penalty and forfeiture of that law,"[12] they would be so far from liking well of[13] that mitigation, as they would cry out it was made to entrap them.[14] And when, notwithstanding all this provision, this poison was dispersed so secretly as that there was no means[15] to stay it but to restrain the merchants[16] that brought it in, then was there lastly added a law whereby such seditious priests of the new erection[17] were exiled, and those that were at that time within the land shipped over,[18] and so commanded to keep hence upon pain of treason.

[1] *such* omitted in A. *as should reconcile themselves to renounce their obedience*: D. *as should reconcile themselves to renounce obedience*: F.
[2] *that* omitted in F.
[3] A blank after *obedience* in C, filled up by another hand with *at once*; omitting *all*.
[4] *it* omitted in C.
[5] *unto*: A, C.
[6] *of mortal sin*: B. This passage, from *For it is to be understood*, is not contained in the letter to M. Critoy, p. 99.
[7] *recusancye*: D. *recusants*: A, F, H.
[8] *was*: A, C, D.
[9] *the*: A, C.
[10] *and impoverish* omitted in A. *to feeble and impoverish*: C.
[11] *this oath*: D.
[12] *the law*: A.
[13] *well of* omitted in A.
[14] This passage also, from *For there is no doubt*, is not contained in the letter to Critoy.
[15] *meane*: D, F.
[16] *merchant*: F.
[17] *election*: D, F.
[18] *over sea*: D.

This hath been the proceeding[1] with that sort, though intermingled[2] not only with sundry examples of her Majesty's grace towards such as in her wisdom[3] she knew to be Papists in conscience and not in faction, but also with an ordinary[4] mitigation[5] towards the offenders in the highest degree convicted by law, if they would but[6] protest, that in case[7] this realm should be invaded with a foreign army[8] by the Pope's authority for the Catholic cause (as they term it), they would take part with her Majesty, and not adhere to her enemies.

And whereas he saith no priest[9] dealt in matter of state[10] (Ballard only excepted), it appeareth[11] by the records of the confession of the said Ballard and sundry other priests, that all priests at that time generally[12] were made acquainted with the invasion then[13] intended and afterwards[14] put in act, and had received instructions not only to move an expectation in the people of a change,[15] but also to take their vows and promises in shrift[16] to adhere to the foreigner;[17] insomuch that[18] one of their principal heads vaunted himself in a letter of the device,[19] saying that[20] it was a point the council of England would never[21] dream of, who would imagine that they should practise with some nobleman to make him head of their faction; whereas they took a course only to deal with the people, and them[22] so severally,[23] as any one apprehended should be able to appeach[24] no more than himself, except it were the priest,[25] who he knew would reveal nothing that was uttered in confession.[26] So innocent was this princely[27] priestly function, which this man taketh to be but[28] a matter

[1] *the proceeding of our state with that sort of people*: D.
[2] *intermingled (as themselves cannot but confess)*: D.
[3] *in her excellent wisdom and profound judgment*: D.
[4] *extraordinary*: D, F.
[5] *mitigation (out of her exceeding and princely clemency)*: D.
[6] *would not*: A, C.
[7] *if in case*: A, B, C, F, H.
[8] *with foreign army*: A, C. *with any foreign army*: H, F. *by any foreign army or enemy*: D.
[9] *that no priest*: B, H, F, D. [10] *matter of treason*: A. *matters of state*: D.
[11] *both by the records*: D, H, F. [12] *generally at that time*: D.
[13] *there intended*: C. [14] *after*: D, F. [15] *a change and alteration*: D.
[16] *in Christ*: B.
[17] *and by all the means and power they had or possible could procure to further and assist him*: D.
[18] *as*: D. [19] *advice*: C. [20] *that* omitted in D.
[21] *never dreamt of*: B. *would never so much as dream of*: D.
[22] *with them*: D. [23] *severely*: F. [24] *appeal*: A, C, H.
[25] *except the priests*: A, C.
[26] *unto him sub sigillo confessionis, in confession*: D.
[27] *princely* omitted in B, D, F, H. [28] *but merely*: D.

of conscience, and thinketh it reason it should have free exercise[1] throughout the land.

IV. *Of the disturbance of the quiet of Christendom; and to what causes it may[2] be justly imputed.*

It is indeed a question which[3] those that look anything into matter[4] of state do well know to fall out very often, though this libeller seemeth to be ignorant thereof, *whether the ambition of the more mighty state, or the jealousy of the less mighty,[5] be to be charged with breach of amity.* Hereof as there may be many examples, so there is one so proper unto the present matter, as though it were many years since, yet it seemeth to be a parable[6] of these times, and namely of the proceedings of Spain and England.

The states then which answered to these two now, were Macedon and Athens. Consider therefore the resemblance between the two Philips, of Macedon and Spain. He of Macedon aspired to the monarchy of Greece, as he of Spain doth of Europe; but more apparently than the first; because that design was discovered in his father Charles V., and so left him by descent, whereas Philip of Macedon was the first of the kings of that nation which fixed so great conceits[7] in his breast. The course which this king of Macedon held was not so much by great armies and invasions (though these wanted not when the case required), but by practice, by sowing of factions in states, and by obliging sundry particular persons of greatness. The state of opposition against his ambitious proceedings was only the state of Athens, as now is the state of England against Spain. For Lacedæmon and Thebes were both low, as France is now; and the rest of the states of Greece were in power and territories far inferior. The people of Athens were exceedingly affected to peace and weary of expense. But the point which I chiefly[8] make the comparison was, that of the Orators, which were as counsellors to a popular state, such as were sharpest sighted and looked deepest into the projects and spreading[9] of the Macedonians (doubting still that the fire, after it had[10] licked up the neighbour states and

[1] *they should have free exercise*: B. *it* omitted in F, H. *that the same should have free passage and be openly exercised*: D.
[2] *ought to*: B. [3] *with those*: A. *with* corrected into *which*: C.
[4] *matters*: B, H. [5] *state* repeated in A, C.
[6] So in all the MSS. [7] *a conceipt*: B. [8] *chief point for which I chiefly*: B.
[9] *poeedings*: B. *spreddings*: H. [10] *had* omitted in C.

made itself opportunity to pass, would at last take hold of the dominions of Athens with so great advantages[1] as they should not be able to remedy it), were ever charged both by the declarations of the king of Macedon and by the imputation of such Athenians as were corrupted to be of his faction, as the kindlers of troubles and disturbers of the peace and leagues. But as that party was in Athens too mighty, so as it discountenanced the true orators counsellors,[2] and so bred the ruin of that state and accomplished the ends of that Philip; so it is to be hoped that in a monarchy (where there are commonly[3] better intelligences and resolutions than in a popular state), those plots, as they are detected already, so they will be resisted and made frustrate.

But to follow the libeller in his own course. The sum of that which he delivereth concerning the imputation, as well of the interruption of the amity between the crowns of England and of Spain as the disturbance of the general peace of Christendom, unto the English proceedings and not to the ambitious appetites of Spain, may be reduced into three points.

1. Touching the proceedings[4] of Spain and England towards their neighbour states.

2. Touching the proceeding of Spain and England between themselves.

3. Touching the articles and conditions which it pleaseth him, as it were in the behalf of England, to pen and propose for the treating and concluding of an universal peace.

In the first, he discovereth[5] that[6] the King of Spain never offered molestation neither unto the states of[7] Italy, upon which he confineth by Naples and Milan; neither unto the states of Germany, upon[8] whom he confineth by a part of Burgundy and the Low Countries; nor unto Portugal (till it was devolute unto[9] him in title), upon which he confineth by Spain; but contrariwise, as one that had in precious regard the peace of Christendom, designed from the beginning to turn his whole forces upon the Turk. Only he confesseth that agreeably[10] to his devotion,

[1] *advantage*: A.
[2] *orators and counsellors*: B, H. *counsels of the orators*: Res. I have little doubt that the reading in the text is the right one; and that the others were meant for corrections of it. The double plural, *orators counsellors* (= *orator-counsellors*, as we should now write it), was the common form in Bacon's time; *e.g. letters patents, merchants strangers*, etc., but fell out of use soon after.
[3] *where commonly there are*: B. *where com. there be*: H. [4] *proceeding*: A.
[5] *discourseth*: H. [6] *how*: B. [7] *in*: A. [8] *unto*: A.
[9] *devolted to*: C. *devolved to*: A. [10] *agreeable*: A, C.

which apprehended as well the purging of Christendom from heresies as the enlarging thereof upon the Infidels, he was ever ready to give succours unto the French kings against the Huguenots, especially being their own subjects. Whereas on the other side England, as he affirmeth, hath not only sowed troubles and dissensions in France and Scotland (the one their neighbour upon the continent, the other divided only by the narrow seas), but also hath actually invaded both kingdoms. For as for the matters of the Low Countries, they belong to the dealings which have[1] passed with Spain.

In answer whereof, it is worthy the consideration how it pleased God in that king to cross one passion by another, and namely that passion which might have proved dangerous unto all Europe, which was his ambition, by another which was only hurtful to himself and his own, which was wrath and indignation towards his subjects the Netherlanders.[2] For after that he was settled in his kingdom and freed from some fear of the Turk, revolving his father's design in aspiring to the monarchy of Europe, casting his eye principally upon the two potent kingdoms of France and England, and remembering how his father had once promised unto himself the conquest of the one, and how himself by marriage had lately had[3] some possession of the other; and seeing that diversity of religion was entered into both these realms, and that France was fallen unto princes weak and in minority, and England unto the government of a lady, in whom he did not expect that policy of government, magnanimity, and felicity, which since he hath proved; concluded (as the Spaniards are great waiters upon time and ground their plots deep) upon two points; The one to profess an extraordinary patronage and defence of the Roman religion; making account thereby to have factions in both kingdoms; in England a faction directly against the state, in France a faction that did consent indeed in religion with the King, and therefore at first show should seem unproper to make a party for a foreigner; but he foresaw well enough that the King of France should be forced in the end (to retain peace and obedience) to[4] yield in some things to those of the religion, which would undoubtedly alienate

[1] *are*: B. *have passed by*: A.
[2] *Netherlands*: A, C.
[3] The second *had* omitted in C.
[4] *forced (to the end to retain peace and obedience) to*: B, C, H.

the fiercer[1] and more violent sort of Papists; which preparation in the people, added to the ambition of the family of Guise which he nourished for an[2] instrument, would in the end make a party for him against the state, as since it proved; and might well have done long before; as may well appear by the mention of leagues[3] and associations, which is above twenty-five years old in France. The other point he concluded upon was, that his Low Countries was the aptest place, both for ports and shipping in respect of England and for situation in respect of France, having goodly frontier towns upon that realm, and joining also upon Germany (whereby they might receive in at pleasure any forces of Almaigns), to annoy and offend either kingdom. The impediment was the inclination of the people, which, receiving a wonderful commodity of trades out of both realms, especially England,[4] and having been in ancient league and confederacy with our nation, and having been also homagers unto France, he knew would be in no wise disposed to either war. Whereupon he resolved to reduce them to a martial[5] government, like unto that which he had established in Naples and Milan; upon which suppression of their liberties ensued the defection of those provinces. And about the same time the reformed religion found entrance in the same countries; so as the King, both kindled with the resistance he found in the first part of his plots,[6] and also because he might not dispense with his other principle in yielding to any toleration of religion, and withal expecting a shorter work of it than he found, became passionately bent to reconquer those countries; wherein he hath consumed infinite treasure and forces. And this is the true cause, if a man will look into it, that hath made the King of Spain so good a neighbour; namely that he was so entangled with the wars of the Low Countries as he could not intend any other enterprise. Besides, in enterprising upon Italy, he doubted first the displeasure of the See of Rome, with whom he meant to run a course of strait conjunction. Also he doubted it might invite the Turk to return. And for Germany, he had a fresh example of his father, who when he had annexed unto the dominions which he

[1] *fierce*: A. *fiery*: C. [2] *for instrument*: A.
[3] *League*: A, C. All the MSS. have *mention*; but I think it ought to be *invention*.
[4] *of England*: B, C. *of both realms, chiefly of England*: H.
[5] Blank left in A for this word. [6] *plot*: B, H.

now possesseth the empire of Almaign, nevertheless sank in that enterprise; whereby he perceived that that nation was of too strong a composition for him to deal withal; though not long since, by practice, he could have been contented to snatch up in the east the country of Embden. For Portugal; first, the kings thereof were good sons to the See of Rome; next, he had no colour of quarrel or pretence; thirdly, they were officious unto him. Yet if you will believe the Genuese[1] (who otherwise writeth much to the honour and advantage of the kings of Spain), it seemeth he had a good mind to make himself a way into that kingdom; seeing that (for that purpose, as he reporteth) he did artificially nourish the young king Sebastian in the voyage of Afric, expecting that overthrow which followed.

As for his intention to war upon the Infidels and Turks, it maketh me think what[2] Francis Guicciardine, a wise writer of history, speaketh of his great-grandfather, making a judgment of him (as historiographers use) after he had told of his death: *This king* (saith he)[3] *did always mask and veil his appetites with a demonstration of a devout and holy intention to the advancement of the Church and the public good.*[4] His father also, when he received advertisement of the taking of the French king, prohibited all ringings and bonfires and other tokens of joy, and said those were to be reserved for victories upon infidels (on whom he meant never to war[5]). Many a cruzada[6] hath the Bishop of Rome granted to him and his predecessors upon that colour, which all have been spent upon the effusion of Christian blood. And now this present year[7] the levies of Germans which should have been made underhand for France were coloured with the pretence of war upon the Turk; which the princes of Germany descrying, not only brake the levies, but threatened the commissioners to hang the next that should offer the like abuse. So that this form of dissembling is familiar and as it were hereditary to the King of Spain.

And as for his succours given to the French king against the Protestants, he could not choose but accompany the pernicious counsels which still he gave to the French kings, of breaking

[1] Dell' Unione del Regno di Portogallo alla corona di Castiglia; istoria del Sig. Ieronimo de' Franchi Conestaggio, gentilhuomo Genovese. Genova, 1585.
[2] *as*: B. [3] *after . . . saith he* omitted in A. [4] Lib. xii. c. 6.
[5] The words within the parenthesis omitted in B, G, H. [6] *Cruzado*: B, H.
[7] *this year*: A, C.

their edicts and admitting[1] no pacification but pursuing their subjects with mortal war, with some offer of aids; which having promised, he could not but in some small degree perform; whereby also the subject of France, namely the violent Papist, was inured to depend upon Spain. And so much for the King of Spain's proceedings toward other states.

Now for ours. And first, touching the point wherein he chargeth us to be the authors of troubles in Scotland and France, it will appear to any that have been well informed of the memories of these affairs that the troubles of those kingdoms were indeed chiefly kindled by one and the same family of the[2] Guise; a family, as was partly touched before, as particularly devoted now for many years together to Spain as the order of the Jesuits is. This house of Guise having of late years extraordinarily flourished in the eminent virtue of a few persons, whose ambition nevertheless was nothing inferior to their virtue, but being a house nevertheless which the princes of the blood of France reckoned but as strangers, aspired to a greatness[3] more than civil and proportionable to their cause, wheresoever they had authority; and accordingly, under colour of consanguinity and religion, they brought into Scotland in the year [1559[4]], and in the absence of the King and Queen (being in their usurped tutele[5]), French forces in great numbers; whereupon the ancient nobility of that realm, seeing the[6] imminent danger of reducing that[7] kingdom under the tyranny of strangers, did pray (according to the good intelligence between the two crowns) her Majesty's neighbourly forces. And so it is true that the action being very just and honourable, her Majesty undertook it, expelled the strangers, and restored the nobility to their degrees, and the state to peace.

After, when certain noblemen of Scotland of the same faction of Guise had during the minority of the King possessed themselves of his person, to the end to abuse his authority many ways, and namely to make a breach between Scotland and England, her Majesty's forces were again, in the year [1573[8]], by the King's

[1] *admitting of*: A. [2] *of Guise*: B, H.

[3] *This house of Guise, being in respect of France but a stranger born, but yet as a hasty plant, rising and spreading suddenly, aspired presently unto a greatness*, etc.: B, H. [4] A blank left in all the MSS. for the date.

[5] A blank left for *tutele* in A and C, but filled up in C by another hand.

[6] *the* omitted in C. [7] *of this*: C.

[8] A blank left for the date in all the MSS. The 'Resuscitatio' gives 1582, a

best and truest servants sought and required: which[1] forces of her Majesty prevailed so far as to be possessed of the castle of Edinburgh, the principal piece of that kingdom; which nevertheless her Majesty incontinently with all honour and sincerity restored, after she had put the King into good and faithful hands; and so ever since in all the occasions[2] of intestine troubles, whereunto that nation hath been ever subject, she hath performed unto the King all possible good offices, and such as he doth with all good affection acknowledge.[3]

The same house of Guise, under colour of alliance, during the reign of Francis II.,[4] and by the support and practice of the Queen Mother (who, desiring to retain the regency under her own hands during the minority of Charles IX., used those of Guise as a counterpoise to the princes of the blood), obtained also great authority in the kingdom of France; whereupon having raised and moved civil wars, under pretence of religion but indeed to enfeeble and depress[5] the ancient nobility of that realm, the contrary part, being compounded of the blood-royal and the greatest officers of the crown, opposed themselves only[6] against their insolency, and to their aids called in her Majesty's forces, giving them for security[7] the town of Newhaven; which nevertheless when as afterwards, having by the reputation of her Majesty's confederation made their peace in effect as they would themselves, they would without observing any conditions that had passed[8] have had back again, then indeed it was held by force, and so had been long, but for the great mortality which it pleased God to send amongst our men. After which time so far was her Majesty from seeking to sow or kindle new troubles, as continually by the solicitation of her

date supplied probably by Dr. Rawley; but wrong. The time alluded to must have been that of the troubles which followed the assassination of the Regent Murray. Edinburgh Castle was yielded to the English on the 28th of May, 1573. See Stowe.

[1] *and with the*: A. [2] *actions*: B.
[3] *as he with all good affection acknowledged*: B.
[4] *the Second* omitted in B, H. [5] *extirpate*: B, H.
[6] *only* omitted in B. [7] *for security only*: B, H.
[8] On the 22nd of September, 1562, a contract was made between the Queen and the Prince of Conde, "for delivery of Newhaven, and to receive 100,000 crowns" (Burghley's Diary). The money was paid to the Admiral of France on the 15th of March following; Newhaven was surrendered (being untenable on account of the pestilence) on the 28th of July, 1563. On the 3rd of September, Burghley writes to Sir T. Smyth:—"Good Mr. Smyth, employ all your credit, and assay the Protestants there to do somewhat like to their promises. I marvel what answer the Prince and the Admiral can make for the money lent them" (Wright's Elizabeth, i. 189).

ambassadors she still persuaded with the kings both Charles IX. and Henry III. to keep and observe their edicts of pacification, and to preserve their authority by the union of their subjects; which counsel, if it had been as happily followed as it was prudently and sincerely given, France had been at this day a most flourishing kingdom, which is now a theatre of misery. And now in the end, after that the ambitious[1] practices of the same house of Guise gathering further strength upon the weakness and misgovernment of King Henry III. had grown to that ripeness that the same king[2] was fain to execute the Duke of Guise without ceremony at Blois, and yet nevertheless so many men were embarked and engaged in that conspiracy as the flame thereof was nothing assuaged, but contrariwise that king[3] grew so distressed[4] as he was enforced to implore the succours of England; her Majesty, though no way interessed in that quarrel nor any way obliged for any[5] good offices she had received of that king, accorded the same. Before the arrival of which forces the King being by a sacrilegious[6] Jacobine murthered in his camp near Paris, yet they went on, and came in good time for the assistance[7] of the King which now reigneth; the justice[8] of whose quarrel, together with the long continued amity and good intelligence which her Majesty had with him, hath moved her Majesty from time to time to supply him[9] with great aids; and yet she never by any demand urged upon him the putting into her hands of any town or place. So as upon this that hath been said, let the reader judge whether hath been the more just and honourable proceeding[10] and the more free from ambition and passion towards other states, that of Spain or that of England. Now let us examine the proceedings reciproque between themselves.

[11] Her Majesty, at her coming to the crown, found her[12] realm entangled with the wars of France and Scotland, her mightiest[13] and nearest neighbours; which wars were grounded only upon

[1] *seditious*: B, H.

[2] *had grown to that ripeness that gathering further strength upon the weakness and misgovernment of the said king Henry III. was fain*, etc.: A. *had grown to that ripeness that Henry III. was fain*: B. In C, from which the text is taken, a blank had been left for *weakness* and for *King Henry III.*, which have been filled up by another hand.

[3] *that King Henry*: A, C. *the king*: H. [4] *distressed, so*: A, C.

[5] *the*: A. [6] *sacrilegious* omitted in B, H. [7] *assisting*: B, H. [8] *justness*: A.

[9] *him* omitted in A. [10] *proceedings*: B, C. [11] Here MS. E begins.

[12] *the*: B. E. [13] Blank left in A for the *mightiest*.

the Spaniard's quarrel, but in the pursuit of them had lost England the town of Calais, which from the [twenty-first[1]] year of King Edward III. had been possessed by the kings of England. Now[2] there was a meeting near Doulens[3] towards the end of Queen Mary's reign, between the Commissioners of France, Spain, and England; and some overture of peace was made, but broke off upon the article of the restitution of Calais. After Queen Mary's death, the King of Spain, thinking himself discharged of that difficulty, though in honour he was no less bound to stand[4] to it than before, renewed the like treaty; wherein her Majesty concurred; so as the Commissioners for the said princes met at Chasteau Cambraissi,[5] near Cambray. In the proceeding[6] of which treaty, it is true that at the first the Commissioners of Spain, for form and in demonstration only, pretended to stand firm upon the demand of Calais. But it was discovered indeed that the King's meaning was, after some ceremonious[7] and perfunctory insisting thereupon, to grow apart to a peace with the French, excluding her Majesty; and so to leave her[8] to make her own peace, after her people had made his wars. Which covert dealing being politicly looked into, her Majesty had reason, being newly invested in her kingdom and of her own inclination being affected to peace, to conclude the same with such conditions as she might. And yet the King of Spain in his dissimulation had so much advantage as she was fain to do it in a treaty apart with the French; whereby to one that is not informed of the counsels and treaties of state as they passed, it should seem to be a voluntary agreement of her Majesty whereto the King of Spain would not be party; whereas indeed he left her no other choice. And this was the first assay or[9] earnest penny of that king's good affection to her Majesty.

About the same time, when the King was solicited to renew such treaties and leagues as had passed between the two crowns of Spain and England by the Lord Cobham, sent unto him to

[1] Blank left for the year in all the MSS., except C, which omits it, but leaves no blank.

[2] *Now* omitted in A, C.

[3] *Dorlens*: A, H. *Dorleas*: C, E. *Dorlens Orleans*: B. The 'Resuscitatio' gives *Burdeaux*. *Doulens* is a town in Somme, where the French and Spanish armies then were. See Stowe.

[4] *to stand* omitted in A.

[5] *Cambraige*: C. *Cadabsely*: B, H.

[6] *proceedings*: A, C.

[7] So E. *ceremonies*: A, H. In B the word seems to have been corrected from *ceremonious* into *ceremonies*; in C from *ceremonies* into *ceremonious*.

[8] *her* omitted in E.

[9] *and*: B, E, H.

acquaint him with the death of Queen Mary,[1] and afterwards by Sir Thomas Chaloner and Sir Thomas Chamberlain, successively ambassadors resident in his Low Countries, who had order divers times during their charge to make overtures thereof both unto the King and certain principal persons about him, and lastly, those former motions taking no effect, by Viscount Mountacute[2] and Sir Thomas Chamberlain, sent into Spain in the year 1560; no other answer could be had or obtained of the King, but that the treaties did stand in as good force to all intents as new ratification[3] could make them. An answer strange at that time, but very conformable to his proceedings since; which belike even then were[4] closely hatched[5] in his own breast. For had he not at that time had some hidden alienation of mind and design[6] of an enemy towards her Majesty, so wise a king could not be ignorant that the renewing and ratifying of treaties between princes and states do add greater[7] life and force both of assurance to the parties themselves and countenance and reputation to the world besides, and have[8] for that cause been commonly and necessarily used and practised.

In the message of Viscount Mountacute[9] it was also contained, that he should crave the King's counsel and assistance, according to amity and good intelligence, upon a discovery of certain pernicious plots of the house of Guise to annoy the realm by the way of Scotland. Whereunto the King's answer was so dark and so cold that nothing could be made of it, till he had made an exposition of it himself by effects, in the express restraint of munition to be carried out of the Low Countries unto the siege of Leith; because our nation was to have supply thereof from thence. So as[10] in all the negotiations that passed with that King, still her Majesty received no satisfaction, but more and more suspicious and hard tokens of evil affection.

Soon after, when upon that project which was disclosed before, the King had resolved to disannul the liberties and privileges unto his subjects the Netherlanders[11] anciently belonging, and to establish amongst[12] them a martial[13] government; which the people, being very wealthy and inhabiting towns very strong

[1] *the Queen Mary*: C. [2] *Mountacue*: C, E. *Mountague*: B. *Montague*: H.
[3] *ratifications*: B, E. [4] *very*: C. [5] *smothered*: A, C.
[6] *assigne*: C. [7] *a greater*: B. *a great*: H, E. *greate*: C.
[8] *have* omitted in C. [9] *Mountague*: B. *Mountacue*: C, E. *Montagu*: H.
[10] *so that*: B, E. [11] *Netherlands*: A. [12] *amongst* omitted in A.
[13] *materiall*: E.

and defensible by fortifications both of nature and the hand, could not endure; there followed the defection and revolt of those countries. In which action, being the greatest of all those which have passed between Spain and England, the proceeding of her Majesty hath been so just and mingled with so many honourable regards, as nothing doth so much clear and acquit her Majesty not only from passion but also from all dishonourable policy. For first, at the beginning of the troubles she did impart unto him faithful and sincere advice of the course that was to be taken for the quieting and appeasing them; and expressly forewarned both himself and such as were in principal charge in those countries during the wars, of the danger likely to ensue if he held so heavy a hand over that people, lest they should cast themselves into the arms of a stranger. But finding the King's mind so exulcerate as he rejected all counsel that tended to mild and gracious proceeding, her Majesty nevertheless gave not over her honourable resolution (which was, if it were possible, to reduce and reconcile those countries unto the obedience of their natural sovereign the King of Spain; and if that might not be, yet to preserve them from alienating themselves to a foreign lord, as namely unto the French, with whom they much treated and amongst whom the enterprise of Flanders was ever propounded as a mean to unite their own civil dissensions), but patiently temporizing, expected[1] the good effect which time might breed. And whensoever the States grew into extremities of despair and thereby ready to embrace the offer of any foreigner, then would her Majesty yield them some relief of money or permit some supply of forces to go over unto them, to the end to interrupt such violent resolution; and still continue to mediate unto the King some just and honourable capitulations of grace and accord, such as whereby always should have been preserved unto him such interest and authority as he in justice could claim, or a prince moderately minded would seek to have. And this course she held interchangeably, seeking to mitigate the wrath of the King and the despair of the countries, till such time as after the death of the Duke of Anjou (into whose hands, according to her Majesty's predictions, but against her good liking, they had put themselves), the enemy pressing them, the United Provinces[2] were received into her Majesty's protection;

[1] *temporized expecting*: B, E, H.
[2] The rest of MS. A is lost, except one leaf further on.

which was after such time as the King of Spain had discovered himself not only an implacable lord to them but also a professed enemy unto her Majesty; having actually invaded Ireland, and designed the invasion of England. For it is to be noted that the like offers which were then made unto her Majesty had been made to her long before; but as long as her Majesty conceived any hope either of making their peace or entertaining her own with Spain, she would never hearken thereunto. And yet now even at last her Majesty retained a singular and evident proof to the world[1] of her justice and moderation, in that she refused the inheritance and sovereignty of those goodly provinces, which by the States with much instance was pressed upon her, and being accepted would have wrought greater contentment and satisfaction both to her people and theirs; being countries for the site, wealth, commodity of traffic, affection to our nation, obedience of the subjects (well used), most convenient to have been annexed to the crown of England, and with all one[2] charge, danger, and offence of Spain; only took upon her the defence and protection of their liberties; which liberties and privileges are of that nature as they may justly esteem themselves but conditional subjects to the King of Spain, more justly than Arragon; and may make her Majesty as justly esteem the ancient confederacies[3] and treaties with Burgundy to be of force rather with the people and nation than with the line of the dukes, because it was never an absolute monarchy. So as to sum up her Majesty's proceedings in this great action, they have been[4] but this, that she hath sought first to restore them to Spain, then to keep them from strangers, and never[5] to purchase them to herself.

But during all this time the King of Spain kept one tenor[6] in his proceedings towards her Majesty, breaking forth more and more into injuries and contempts. Her subjects trading into Spain have been many of them burned, some cast into the galleys, others have died in prison, without any other crimes committed, but upon quarrels picked upon them for their religion here at

[1] *woords*: E.

[2] So all the MSS. If the reading be correct, the meaning must be, that by accepting the *sovereignty* of the Low Countries, Elizabeth would not have incurred any greater charge, danger, or hostility, in respect of Spain, than she did incur by undertaking their *protection*. But I suspect some error.

[3] *confederates*: C.

[4] *have been but thus*: B. *have but this*: C.

[5] *in no wise*: B, E, H.

[6] *good conformity*: B, E, H.

home.[1] Her merchants at the sack of Antwerp were divers of them spoiled and put to their ransoms, though they could not be charged with any part-taking; neither upon the complaint of Doctor Wilson and Sir Edward Horsey could any redress be had. A general arrest was made by the Duke of Alva of Englishmen's both goods and persons, upon pretence that certain ships stayed in this realm laden with goods and money of certain merchants of Genoa belonged to the King; which money and goods was afterwards to the uttermost value restored and paid back; whereas our men were far from receiving the like justice on their side. Dr. Man, her Majesty's ambassador, received during his legation sundry indignities; himself being removed out of Madrill, and lodged in a village, as they are accustomed to use the ambassadors of the Moors;[2] his son and steward forced to assist at a mass with tapers in their hands; besides sundry other contumelies and reproaches.

But the spoiling or damnifying of a merchant, vexation of a common subject, dishonour of an ambassador, were rather but demonstrations of ill disposition than effects, if they be compared with the actions[3] of state wherein he and his ministers have[4] sought the overthrow of this government.

As in the year 1569, when the rebellion in the north part of England brake forth, who but the Duke of Alva, then the King's lieutenant in the Low Countries, and Don Guerres de Espes, then his ambassador lieger here, were discovered to be chief instruments and practisers; having complotted with the Duke of Norfolk at the same time (as was proved at the said[5] Duke's condemnation), that an army of ten thousand men should have landed at Harwich[6] in aid of that part which the said Duke had made within the realm; and the said Duke of Alva having spent and employed one hundred and fifty thousand crowns in that preparation.

Not contented thus to have comforted[7] and assisted her Majesty's rebels in England, he procured a rebellion in Ireland; arming and sending thither in the year [1579[8]] an archrebel of

[1] So B, E, H. In C there is a colon after *religion*, and no stop after *home*: which is perhaps right.
[2] *of Moors*: C. [3] *with these actions*: B, E. *with matters*: H.
[4] *hath*: C. [5] *same*: C. [6] *Barwicke*: B.
[7] *consorted*: C, E. *conforted*: H.
[8] Blank left for date in all the MSS. Supplied from the 'Resuscitatio.'

that country, James Fitz Morris, which before was fled (as[1] truly to speak, the whole course of molestation which her Majesty hath received in that realm by the rising and keeping out of the Irish hath been nourished and fomented from Spain). But afterwards most apparently, in the year [1580[2]], he invaded the said Ireland[3] with Spanish forces under an Italian colonel;[4] being but the forerunners of a greater[5] power, which by treaty between him and the Pope should have followed, but that by the speedy defeat of those former they were discouraged[6] to pursue the action; which invasion was proved to be done by the King's own order, both by the letters of his secretary[7] Escovedo and of Guerres to the King; and also by divers other letters, wherein the particular conferences were set down which passed concerning this enterprise between Cardinal Riario,[8] the Pope's legate, and the King's deputy[9] in Spain, touching the general, the number of men, the contribution of money, and the manner of prosecuting[10] the action; and by the confession of some of the chiefest of those that were taken prisoners at the fort. Which act being an act of apparent hostility, added unto all the injuries aforesaid, and accompanied with the[11] continual receipt, comfort, and countenance, by audiences, pensions, and employments, which he gave to traitors and fugitives both English and Irish,—as Westmoreland, Paget, Englefield, Baltinglass, and numbers of others,—did sufficiently justify and warrant that pursuit of revenge, which (either in the spoil of Carthagena and San Domingo in the Indies by Mr.[12] Drake, or in the undertaking the protection of the Low Countries when the Earl of Leicester was sent over) afterwards followed. For before that time her Majesty, though she stood upon her guard, in respect of the just cause of jealousy which the sundry injuries of that king gave her, yet had entered into no offensive action against him. For both the voluntary forces which Don Antonio had collected in this realm were by express commandment restrained; and offer was made of restitution to the Spanish

[1] *and*: C.
[2] Blank left in all the MSS. for the date. Supplied from the 'Resuscitatio.'
[3] *the same Iland*: E, B. *the same land*: H.
[4] The 'Resuscitatio' adds, *by name San Josepho.* [5] *greate*: C.
[6] *discharged*: B. [7] *of secretaries*: C.
[8] *Ricario*: C. [9] *deputyes*: B, E.
[10] *of prosecuting of*: B. *of the prosecuting of*: C. [11] *a*: C.
[12] All the MSS. have *Mr.* Drake, though he had been knighted four years before the action alluded to, which was in 1585.

ambassador of such treasure as[1] had been brought into this realm, upon proof that it had been taken by wrong; and the Duke of Anjou was (as much as could stand with the near treaty of a marriage which then was very forward between her Majesty and the said Duke) diverted from the enterprise of Flanders.[2]

But to conclude this point. When that some years after, the invasion and conquest of this land, intended long before but through many crosses and impediments which the King of Spain found in his plots deferred, was in the year 1588[3] attempted; her Majesty, not forgetting her own nature, was content at the same instant to treat of a[4] peace; not ignorantly, as a prince that knew not in what forwardness his preparations were (for she had discovered them long before), nor fearfully, as may appear by the articles whereupon her Majesty in that treaty stood, which were not the demands of a prince afraid; but only to spare the shedding of Christian blood, and to show her constant desire to make her reign renowned rather by peace than victories. Which peace was on her part treated sincerely, but on his part (as it should seem) was but an abuse, thinking thereby to have taken us more unprovided; so that the Duke of Parma, not liking to be used as an instrument in such a case in regard of his particular honour, would sometimes in treating interlace "that the King his master meant to make his peace with his sword in his hand."

Let it then be tried, upon an indifferent view of the proceedings of England and Spain, as well towards other states as between themselves, who it is that fisheth in troubled waters, and hath disturbed the peace of Christendom, and hath written and described all his plots in blood.

There follow the[5] articles of an universal peace, which the libeller as a commissioner for the estate of England hath propounded; and are these:

First, that the King of Spain should recall such forces as of great compassion to the natural people of France he hath sent thither to defend them against a relapsed Hugucnot.

Secondly, that he suffer his rebels of Holland and Zealand quietly to possess the places they hold, and to take unto them[6]

[1] *as Mr. Drake had brought*: B, E, H. [2] Here ends MS. E.
[3] A blank had been left for the date in B, which has been corrected by another pen. [4] *of peace*: B, H.
[5] *There followeth articles*: B. [6] *him*: B, H.

all the rest of his[1] Low Countries also; conditionally that the English may still keep the possession of such port[2] towns as they have, and have some half-a-dozen more annexed unto them.

Thirdly, that the English rovers mought peaceably go to his Indies, and there take away his treasure and his Indies also.

And these articles being accorded, he saith, mought follow[3] that peace which passeth all understanding, as he calleth it, in a scurrile and profane mockery of the peace which Christians enjoy with God by the atonement which is made by the blood of Christ, whereof the Apostle saith *that it passeth*[4] *all understanding*. But these his articles are sure mistaken and mispenned,[5] and indeed corrected, are briefly thus:

1. That the King of France be not impeached in reducing his rebels to obedience.

2. That the Netherlanders be suffered to enjoy their ancient liberties and privileges, and so forces of strangers to be withdrawn, both English and Spanish.

3. That all nations may trade into the East and West Indies; yea discover and occupy such parts as the Spaniard doth not actually possess and are not under civil government, notwithstanding any[6] donation of the Pope.

V. *Of the cunning of the libeller, in palliation of his malicious invectives against her Majesty and the State, with pretence of taxing only the actions of the Lord Burghley.*

I cannot rightly call this point cunning in the libeller, but rather goodwill to be cunning, without skill indeed or judgment. For finding that it had been the usual and ready practice of seditious subjects to plant and bend their invectives and clamours not against the sovereigns themselves, but against some such as had grace with them and authority under them, he put in ure this learning in a wrong and unproper[7] case. For this hath some appearance to cover undutiful invectives, when it is used against favourites or new upstarts and sudden risen counsellors. But when it shall be practised against one that hath been counsellor before her Majesty's time, and hath continued longer counsellor

[1] *his* omitted in C. [2] *fort*: B. [3] *follow* omitted in B.
[4] *pleaseth*: B. This MS. becomes so inaccurate towards the end, that I have not thought it worth while to notice all the variations.
[5] *both mistaken and mispenned*: B, H. [6] *the*: B, H. [7] *proper*: C.

than any other counsellor in Europe; one that must needs have been great if it were but by surviving alone, though he had no other excellency; one that hath passed the degrees of honour with great travail and long time, which quencheth always envy, except it be joined with extreme malice; then it appeareth manifestly to be but a brick wall at tennis to make the defamation[1] and hatred rebound from the counsellor[2] upon the prince. And assuredly they be very simple to think to abuse the world with those shifts; since every child can tell the fable, that the wolves'[3] malice was not to the shepherd but to his dog. It is true that these men have altered their tune twice or thrice. When the match was in treating with the Duke of Anjou, they spake honey as to her Majesty; all the gall was uttered against the Earl of Leicester. But when they had gotten heart upon the expectation of the[4] invasion, they changed style, and disclosed all the venom in the world immediately against her Majesty. What new hope[5] hath made[6] them return to their Sinon's note in teaching Troy how to save itself, I cannot tell. But in the meantime they do his Lordship much honour; for the more despitefully they inveigh against his Lordship, the more reason hath her Majesty to trust him and the realm to honour him. It was wont to be a token of scant[7] a good liegeman, when the enemy spoiled the country and left any particular man's[8] houses or fields unwasted.

[9] VI. *Certain true general notes upon the actions of the Lord Burghley.*

But above all the rest, it is a strange fancy in the libeller that he maketh his Lordship to be the *primum mobile* in every action without distinction; that to him her Majesty is accountant of her resolutions; that to him the Earl of Leicester and the secretary Mr. Walsingham, both men of great power and of great will,[10] were but as instruments. Whereas it is well known that, as to her Majesty, there was never counsellor of his Lordship's long continuance that was so appliable to her Majesty's princely resolutions; endeavouring always, after faithful propositions and remonstrances (and those in the best words and the most grateful

[1] *diffamation*: C, H. [2] *counsellors*: C. [3] *wolfe's*: B. [4] *of invasion*: B.
[5] *happe*: B. [6] *been made*: C. [7] *scant of*: B. [8] *men's*: C, H.
[9] Here MS. E begins again. [10] *wills*: B.

manner), to rest upon such conclusions as her Majesty in her own wisdom determineth, and them to execute to the best; so far hath he been from contestation or drawing her Majesty into any his own courses. And as for the forenamed counsellors and others with whom his Lordship hath consorted in her Majesty's service, it is rather true that his Lordship, out of the greatness of his experience and wisdom and out of the coldness of his nature, hath qualified generally all hard and extreme courses, as far as the service of her Majesty and the safety of the state and the making himself compatible with those with whom he served would permit; so far hath his Lordship been from inciting others or running a full course with them in that kind. But yet it is more strange that this man should be so absurdly[1] malicious, as he should charge his Lordship not only with all actions of state, but also with all the faults and vices of the times; as, if curiosity and emulation have bred some controversies in the church; though, thanks be to God, they extend but to outward things; if wealth and the cunning of wits have brought forth multitude of suits in[2] law; if excess in pleasures or in magnificence, joined with the unfaithfulness of servants and the greediness of moneyed men, have decayed the patrimony of many noblemen and others; that all these and such like conditions of the time should be put on his Lordship's account; who hath been, as far as to his place appertaineth, a most religious and wise moderator in church matters to have unity kept; who with great justice hath dispatched infinite causes in law that have orderly been brought before him; and for his own example may say that that[3] few men may say, but was sometime[4] said by Cephalus the Athenian, so much renowned in Plato's works,—who having lived near to the age of a hundred years and in continual affairs and business, was wont to say of himself "That he never sued any neither had been sued by any;" who by reason of his office hath preserved many great houses from overthrow by relieving sundry extremities towards such as in their minorities have been circumvented, and towards all such as his Lordship might advise, did ever persuade sober and limited expense; nay to make proof further of his contented manner of life, free from suits and covetousness,—as he never sued any man, so did he never raise any

[1] *assuredly*: B, E, H. [2] *of*: B, E, H.
[3] The second *that* omitted in E, H. [4] *sometimes*: C.

rent or put out any tenant of his own, nor ever gave consent to have the like done to any of the Queen's tenants; matters singularly to be noted in this age. [But he that will blame his Lordship for the tales of every novellante and for the vain and fond pamphlets and ballads of every idle fellow that will put news in[1] writing or in print, sometimes upon gain, sometimes upon humour; whereas his Lordship neither hath any charge of the press, neither can his great and weighty business permit him to intend such trifles; doth show that though the libeller meant to spare no powder, yet surely he shot but at rovers.[2]]

But however by this fellow, as in a false artificial glass which is able to make the best face deformed,[3] his Lordship's doings be set forth; yet let his proceedings which be indeed his own be indifferently weighed and considered; and let men call to mind that his Lordship was never no violent and transported man in matters of state, but ever respective and moderate; that he was never no vindicative[4] man in his particular, no breaker of necks, no heavy enemy, but ever placable and mild; that he was never no brewer of holy water in court, no dallier, no abuser, but ever real and certain; that he was never no bearing man nor carrier of causes, but ever gave way to justice and course of law; that he was never no glorious wilful proud man, but ever civil and familiar and good to deal withal; that in the course of his service he hath rather sustained the burthen than sought the fruition of honour or profit, scarcely sparing any time from his cares and travels to the sustentation of his health; that he never had nor sought to have for himself or[5] his children any pennyworth of land[6] or goods that appertained to any person that was[7] attainted of any treason, felony, or otherwise; that he never had or sought any kind of benefit by any forfeiture to her Majesty; that he was never a factious commender of men to her Majesty, as he that intended any ways to besiege her by bringing in men at his devotion, but was ever a true reporter unto her Majesty[8] of every man's deserts and abilities; that he never took the course to un-

[1] *into*: B.

[2] The passage within the brackets is in B, E, and H; but not in C, nor in the 'Resuscitatio.' The sentence, though ungrammatical, is intelligible. It means that the fact of his blaming Burghley for such publications as these, proves that though he meant to spare no powder, etc.

[3] *deformed and hideous*: B, E, H.

[4] *vindictive*: B. [5] *and*: C. [6] *lands*: C.

[7] *any attaynted*: C. (A blank had been left by the transcriber after *any*, which has been filled up by another hand.) [8] *Majesty* omitted in B, E, H.

quiet or offend, no nor exasperate her Majesty, but to content her mind and mitigate her displeasure; that he ever bare himself reverently and without scandal in matters of religion, and without blemish in his private course of life; let men, I say, without passionate malice call to mind these things, and they will think it reason that though he be not canonized for a saint in Rome, yet he is worthily celebrated as *pater patriæ* in England; and though he be libelled against by fugitives, yet he is prayed for by a multitude of good subjects; and lastly, though he somewhat be envied without just cause[1] whilst he liveth, yet he shall be deeply wanted when he is gone. And assuredly many princes have had many servants of trust, name, and sufficiency; but where there have been great parts, there hath often wanted temper of affection; where there have been both ability and moderation, there have wanted diligence and love of travail; where all three have been, there have sometimes wanted faith and sincerity; where some few have had all these four, yet they have wanted time and experience; but where there is a concurrence of all these, there it is no marvel though a prince of judgment be constant in the employment and trust of such a person;[2] of whose faithfulness, as she hath had proof so many years in her own time as it were very hard but, if he had gone about to abuse her, at some time she should have espied it; so to begin withal, he brought with him such a notable evidence of his constant loyalty as a greater could not have been. For to confirm her Majesty's opinion in choosing him to be her first counsellor (as he is the only counsellor living of those she did use many years from the beginning of her Crown), she had cause to do, for that he of all other counsellors in King Edward's time refused to consent to the determination by[3] a pretended will of King Edward's to deprive the Lady Mary, afterwards Queen, and the then Lady Elizabeth, now Queen; for whose two titles he only of all the then counsellors did for conscience sake adhere; to the peril of his head if Queen Mary had not enjoyed the crown. For the which it is well known that Queen Mary did not only reward him, but offered him to have been of her council, which he for good respects did forbear to accept.[4]

[1] *somewhat* and *without just cause* omitted in C.
[2] In Resuse. *such a servant;* omitting all the rest of the paragraph. [3] *of:* E.
[4] This passage is found in B, E, and H. C omits *of whose faithfulness she hath had proof*, and stops at *constant loyalty*. There is some error in the sentence as it

VII. *Of divers particular untruths and abuses dispersed through the libel.*

The order which this man keepeth in his libel is such, as it may easily appear that he meant but to empty some note-book of the matters of England, to bring in (whatsoever came of it) a number of idle jests which he thought mought fly abroad; and intended nothing less than to clear the matters he handled by the light of order and distinct writing. Having therefore in the principal points, namely the second, third, and fourth articles, ranged his scattered and wandering discourse into some order such as may help and not confound the judgment of the reader, I am now content to gather up some of his by-matters and straggling[1] untruths, and very briefly to censure them.

Pag. 9, he saith that his Lordship could neither by the greatness of his beads, creeping to the cross, nor exterior show of devotion before the high altar, find his entrance into high dignity in Queen Mary's time. All which is a mere fiction at pleasure; for Queen Mary bare that respect unto him in regard of his constant standing good for her title, as she desired to continue his service; the refusal whereof growing from his own part, he enjoyed nevertheless all other liberty and favour of the time;[2] save only that it was put into the Queen's head that it was dangerous to permit him to go beyond[3] the sea, because he had a great wit of action and had served in so principal a place; which nevertheless after, with Cardinal Poole, he was suffered to do.

Pag. eadem, he saith Sir Nicholas Bacon, that was Lord Keeper, was a man of exceeding crafty wit. Which showeth that this fellow in his slanders is no good mark-man, but throweth out his words of defacing without all level. For all the world noted Sir Nicholas Bacon to be a man plain, direct, and constant, without all fineness or doubleness; and one that was of the mind that a man in his private proceedings, and a state[4] in the proceedings of state, should rest upon the soundness and strength of their own courses, and not upon practice to circumvent others; according to the sentence of Salomon, *Vir prudens advertit ad gressus suos, stultus autem divertit ad dolos;* insomuch that the Bishop of Ross, a subtle and observing man, said of him that he

stands, owing probably to some confusion in the original, caused by corrections and interlineations; but the meaning is clear enough.

[1] *strangling:* C. [2] *liberties and favours of time:* C. [3] *beyond sea:* B. [4] *and estate:* C.

could fasten no words upon him, and that it was impossible to come within him, because he offered no play; and Queen-mother of France, a very politic princess,[1] said of him that he should have been of the council of Spain, because he despised the occurrences, and rested upon the first plot. So that if he were crafty it is hard to say who is wise.

Pag. 10, he saith that his Lordship, in the establishment of religion in the beginning of the Queen's time, prescribed a composition of his own invention. Whereas the same form, not fully six years before, had been received in this realm in King Edward's time: so as his Lordship, being a Christian politic counsellor, thought it better to follow a precedent than to innovate, and to choose the precedent rather at home than abroad.

Pag. 41, he saith that Catholics never attempted to murder any principal person of her Majesty's court, as did Burchew (whom he calleth a Puritan) in wounding of a gentleman instead of Sir Christopher Hatton; but by their great virtue, modesty, and patience, do manifest in themselves a far different spirit from the other sort. For Burchew, it is certain he was mad; as appeareth not only by his mad[2] mistaking, but by the violence that he offered after to his keeper, and most evidently by his behaviour at his execution. But of Catholics (I mean the traitorous sort of them) a man may say as Cato said sometimes of Cæsar, *eum ad evertendam rempublicam sobrium accessisse:* they come[3] sober and well advised to their treasons and conspiracies; and commonly they look not so low as the counsellors, but have bent their murderous attempts immediately against her Majesty's sacred person (which God have in his precious custody); as may appear by the conspiracy of Somervile, Parry, Savage, the Six, and others; nay (which is more[4]) they have defended it *in thesi* to be a lawful act.

Pag. 43, he saith his Lordship (whom he calleth the Arch-politic) hath fraudulently provided that when any priest is arraigned the indictment is farced[5] with many odious matters. Wherein he showeth great[6] ignorance, if it be not malice; for the law permitteth not the ancient forms of indictments to be altered; like as in an action of trespass, although a man take away another's goods in the peaceablest manner in the world, yet the writ hath

[1] *prince:* C. [2] *rash:* B, H. [3] *came:* C. [4] *which is more* omitted in C.
[5] *forced:* C, H. [6] *groce:* B. *grosse:* H.

quare vi et armis; and if a man enter upon another's ground and do no more, the plaintiff mentioneth *quod herbam suam ibidem crescentem cum equis, bobus, porcis, et bidentibus, depastus sit, conculcavit et consumpsit.* Neither is this any absurdity; for in the practice of all law the formularies have been few and certain, and not varied according to every particular case. And in indictments also of treason it is not so far fetched as in that of trespass; for the law ever presumeth in treason an[1] intention of subverting the state and impeaching the majesty royal.

Pag. 45, and in other places, speaking of the persecuting of Catholics, he still mentioneth bowelling and consuming men's entrails with fire; as if this were a new torture devised. Wherein he doth cautelously and maliciously suppress that the law and custom of this land from all antiquity hath ordained that punishment in case of treason, and permitteth no other. And a punishment surely it is, though of great terror, yet by reason of the quick dispatching of less torment far than either the wheel or forcipation, yea than simple burning.

Pag. 48, he saith England is confederate with the great Turk. Wherein if he mean it because the merchants have an agent in Constantinople, how will he answer for all the Kings of France since Francis I., which were good Catholics; for the Emperor; for the King of Spain himself; for the Senate of Venice; and other states, that have had long time ambassadors liegers in that[2] court? If he mean it because the Turk hath done some special honour to our ambassador (if he be so to be termed), we are beholding to the King of Spain for that; for that the honour we have won upon him by opposition hath given us reputation through the world. If he mean it because the Turk seemeth to affect us for the abolishing of images, let him consider then what a scandal the matter of images hath been in the church, as having been one of the principal branches whereby Mahumetism entered.

Pag. 65, he saith Cardinal Allen was of late very near to have been elected Pope; whereby he would put the Catholics here in some hope that once within five or six years (for a Pope commonly sitteth no longer) he may obtain that which he missed narrowly. That[3] is a direct abuse; for it is certain in all the conclaves since Sixtus Quintus, who gave him his hat, he was never in possibility; nay the King of Spain, that hath patro-

[1] *of an*: B. [2] *the court*: B. [3] *This*: B, H.

nized the Church of Rome so long as he is become a right patron of it, in that he seeketh to present to that see whom he liketh, yet never durst strain his credit to so desperate a point as once to make a canvass for him; no, he never nominated him in his inclusive nomination. And those that know anything of respects of conclaves, know that he is not papable; first, because he is an ultramontane, of which sort there hath been none these fifty years; next, because he is a cardinal of alms of Spain, and wholly at the devotion of that king; thirdly, because he is like to employ the treasure and favours of the Popedom upon the enterprises of England, and the relief and advancement of English fugitives, his necessitous countrymen. So as he presumed much upon the simplicity of the reader in this point, as in many more.

Pag. 55, and again 70, he saith his Lordship intendeth to match his grandchild Mr. William Cecil with the Lady Arbella. Which being a mere imagination without any circumstance at all to induce it, more than that they are both unmarried and that their years agree well, needeth no answer. It is true that his Lordship, being no stoical unnatural man, but loving towards his children (for *charitas reipublicæ incipit a familia*), hath been glad to match them into honourable and good blood; and yet not so but a private gentleman of Northamptonshire, that lived altogether in the country, was able to bestow his daughter higher than his Lordship hath done; but yet it is not seen by anything past that his Lordship ever thought or affected to match his children in the blood-royal. His Lordship's wisdom, which hath been so long of gathering, teacheth him to leave to his posterity rather surety than danger. And I marvel where be the combinations which have been[1] with great men, and the popular and plausible courses which ever accompany such designs as the libeller speaketh of. And therefore this match is but like unto that which the same fellows[2] concluded between the same lady Arbella and the Earl of Leicester's son, when he was but a twelvemonth old.

Pag. 70, he saith he laboureth incessantly with the Queen to make his eldest son deputy of Ireland. As if that were such a catch, considering all the deputies since her Majesty's time, except the Earl of Sussex and the Lord Grey, have been persons of meaner degree than Sir Thomas Cecil is; and the most that

[1] *which have been* omitted in B, H. [2] *fellowe*: B. *followers*: C.

is gotten by that place is but the saving and putting up of a man's own revenues during those years that he serveth there; and this perhaps to be sauced[1] with some displeasure at his return.

Pag. eadem, he saith he hath brought in his second son[2] to be of the council, who hath neither wit nor experience. Which speech is as notorious an untruth as[3] is in all the libel; for it is confessed by all men that know the gentleman, that he hath one of the rarest and most excellent wits of England; with a singular delivery and application of the same, whether it be to use a continued speech, or to negotiate, or to couch[4] in writing, or to make report, or discreetly to consider of the[5] circumstances, or[6] aptly to draw things to a point; and all this joined with a very good nature and a great[7] respect to all men, as is daily more and more revealed. And for his experience, it is easy to think that his training and helps hath made it already such as many that have served long prentishood for it have not attained the like. So as if that be true, that *qui beneficium digno dat omnes obligat,* not his father only but the state is bound unto her Majesty for the choice and employment of so sufficient and worthy a gentleman.

There be many other follies and absurdities in the book; which if an eloquent scholar had it in hand, he would take advantage thereof, and justly make the author not only odious but ridiculous and contemptible to the world. But I pass them over; and even this which hath been said hath been vouchsafed to the value and worth[8] of the matter and not the worth of the writer, who hath handled a theme[9] above his compass.

VIII. *Of the height of impudency that these men are grown unto in publishing and avouching untruths, with a particular recital of some of them for an assay.*[10]

These men are grown to a singular spirit and faculty in lying and abusing the world; such as it seemeth, although they are to purchase a particular dispensation for all other sins, yet they have a dispensation dormant to lie for the Catholic cause; which

[1] *saved*: C. [2] *brought his second son in*: B, H. [3] *is* omitted in C.
[4] *touch*: C. [5] *the* omitted in B, H.
[6] *or to aptlie to draw*: C. (Perhaps it should be, *or to apply and draw things to a point.*)
Here A begins again. [8] *and worth* omitted in C, B, H.
handled them: C. [10] *essays*: B.

moveth me to give the reader a taste of their untruths, especially such as are wittily contrived,[1] and are not merely gross and palpable; desiring him out of their own writings (when any shall fall into his hands) to increase the roll at least in his own memory.

We retain in our calendars no other holydays but such as have their memorials in the Scriptures; and therefore in the honour of the blessed Virgin, we only receive the feasts of the Annunciation and the Purification; omitting the other of the Conception and the Nativity;[2] which Nativity was used to be celebrated upon the seventh of September, the vigil whereof happened to be the nativity of our Queen; which though we keep not holy, yet we use therein certain civil customs of joy and gratulation, as ringing of bells, bonfires, and such-like, and likewise make a memorial of the same day in our calendar; whereupon they have published that we have expunged the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, and put instead thereof the nativity of our Queen; and further, that we sing certain hymns unto her, used to have been sung unto our Lady.

It happened that upon some bloodshed in the church of Paul's, according to the canon[3] law yet with us in force, the said church was interdicted, and so the gates shut up for some few days; whereupon they published that,—because the same church is a place where people use to meet to walk and confer,—the Queen's Majesty, after the manner of the ancient tyrants, had forbidden all assemblies and meetings of people together, and for that reason upon extreme jealousy did cause Paul's gates[4] to be shut up.

The gate of London called Ludgate, being in decay, was pulled down and built anew; and on the one side was set up the image of Lud and his two sons,—who, according to the name, was thought to be the first founder of that gate,—and on the other side the image of her Majesty, in whose time it was re-edified; whereupon they published[5] that her Majesty, after all the images of the saints[6] were long since beaten down, had now at last set

[1] *especially touching anie written contrived*: A. *especially such as are prittyest and most artificially confirmed*: B. *especially such as are precyest and most artificially contrived*: H. In C a blank had been left between *especially* and *contrived* as for words which the transcriber could not decipher, which has been filled by another pen as in the text.

[2] *and nativity*: C. *the Assumption, Conception, and Nativity*: B.

[3] *comon*: B, C. [4] *gate*: C, H. [5] *voiced*: B.

[6] Here MS. A breaks off again.

up her own image upon the principal gate of London to be adored, and that all men were forced to do reverence to it as they passed by, and a watch there placed for that purpose.

Mr. Jewel, the bishop of Salisbury, who according to his life died most godly and patiently, at the point of death used the versicle of the psalm, *O Lord, in Thee have I put my trust, let me never be confounded;* whereupon, suppressing the rest, they published[1] that the principal champion of the heretics (in his very last words) cried[2] he was confounded.

In the act of recognition of *primo*, whereby the right of the crown is acknowledged by Parliament to be in her Majesty (the like whereof was used in Queen Mary's time), the words of limitation are, *in the Queen's Majesty and the natural heirs of her body, and her lawful successors.* Upon which word, *natural*, they do maliciously and indeed villainously glose, that it was the intention of the Parliament in a cloud to convey the crown to any issue of her Majesty's that were illegitimate; whereas the word *heir* doth with us so[3] necessarily and pregnantly import lawfulness, as it had been *indecorum* and uncivil speaking of the issues of a prince to have expressed it.

They set forth in the year a book with tables and pictures of the persecutions against Catholics, wherein they have not only taken[4] stories of fifty years old to supply their pages, but also taken all the persecutions of the primitive church under the heathen, and translated them to the practice of England; as that of worrying[5] priests under the skins of bears by dogs, and the like.

I conclude then that I know not what to make of this excess in avouching untruths, save this, that they may truly chant in their quires, *Linguam nostram magnificabimus, labia nostra nobis sunt:* and that they who have long agone[6] forsaken the truth of God, which is the touchstone, must now hold by the whetstone; and that their ancient pillar of lying wonders being decayed, they must now hold by lying slanders, and make their libels successors to their legend.

Finis.

[1] *reported:* B. [2] *cried out:* B, H. [3] *as* in all the MS.
[4] *taken* omitted in C. [5] *worrowing* in all the MSS. [6] *agoe:* B, H.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1593. ÆTAT. 33.

1.

HAD the foregoing paper been written a few weeks later, a fresh evidence of the danger which hung over England from Spain must have been added to the list. This pamphlet, in which the pacific policy of Philip was so largely set forth, proved to be the immediate forerunner, if not the actual preparative and accomplice, of a new intrigue in Scotland more alarming than any of the rest. And before the reply was finished, several of the most powerful nobles had formally pledged themselves to receive Spanish forces in Scotland, and to raise, by help of Spanish money, forces of their own to join with them. Of this fact the English government received certain intelligence early in January, 1592-3. It was necessary therefore to be prepared for an invasion at both ends of the kingdom at once; and as the double subsidy granted three years before had been already spent in aids to the Netherlands and France, no time was to be lost in summoning a new parliament and obtaining fresh and liberal supplies.

The Houses met on the 19th of February. The Lord Keeper, in the Queen's presence and by her command, informed them why they had been called, what they were to do, and what not to do. He told them that the King of Spain had since 1588 been furnishing himself with ships of a different build, fitter for our waters; had possessed himself of the principal strongholds in Brittany, places convenient to assail us from by sea; had won a party in Scotland to give landing to his forces there, sent him large sums of money, and received written promises of assistance; and that his purpose was to invade us by land and sea at once, from north and south. Meantime, the Queen's treasure being spent, she had called them "that she might consult with her subjects for the better withstanding of these intended invasions, which were now greater than were ever heretofore heard of." He told them that they were not called to make any new laws, of which there were already so many that an abridgment of

those there were was more wanted than an addition to the number; that the session could not be long, for spring was near, when gentlemen would be wanted in their counties and the justices of assize in their circuits; therefore that the good hours must not be lost in idle speeches, but employed wholly in the needful business of the time.

In these admonitions there was nothing unusual. No remonstrance was made; no symptoms of opposition manifested; nor did there seem to be any reason for doubting that if the Commons were left to take their ordinary course without further interference, they would do the business willingly and satisfactorily. It is true that they had shown themselves on late occasions very jealous of their trust, and very reluctant to make precedents for double subsidies. But in times of war subsidies were understood to be the constitutional resource. The wars in which the country was then engaged were popular. There was no suspicion of waste or misemployment or ill success in the administration of former grants. And if extraordinary sacrifices were due to extraordinary occasions, never was there a time in which they might have been more reasonably expected than upon the fresh alarm (for the King of Spain's design was not known to the English public before parliament met) of so formidable a danger. Yet scarcely a week had passed before obstructions and misunderstandings arose, and that in a manner and quarter so unexpected, that historians have had to seek far, and hitherto I think unsuccessfully, for an explanation of them.

That there had grown up under the leadership of the Earl of Essex a parliamentary "opposition," whose object was to embarrass the ministers in the hope of supplanting them, is a modern suggestion, drawn from modern experiences, without a shadow of direct evidence to support it, and incredible to any one acquainted with those times. To embarrass Queen Elizabeth's government in a crisis of national danger was no man's way to a seat at *her* council-table. To me it appears more probable that the opposition she met with was legitimately provoked by the Queen herself; for that, seeing the gradual encroachments which for some years Privilege had been making upon Prerogative, she had intended to take advantage of what seemed a favourable crisis, not merely for obtaining those supplies which she was entitled to ask for, but also for establishing one or two precedents in her own favour upon certain points of form which custom had not yet settled. The right of free debate in the Lower House, for instance, had its limits in *fact*, as we know; but Peter Wentworth had formally disputed them;[1] and the dispute, though silenced, had not been decided. So also the rule of voting only one subsidy

[1] 28th February, 1586-7. See D'Ewes, p. 411.

at a time had been broken by the last Parliament; but it was with an intimation that the case was extraordinary, and a proviso that it should not be taken for a precedent. Now this rule was inconvenient for the public service, and by a little judicious management might be made to lose its prescriptive authority. Again, the Commons had been allowed hitherto to discuss all questions of supply by themselves, without dictation or interference. But since it was not possible to judge how large a supply ought to be offered, without knowing the occasion which called for it; and since the Commons were not then admitted to be fit judges of council-table matters; it would certainly be convenient for the government, and might appear not altogether unreasonable in itself, to introduce a custom of discussing such questions in conference with the Lords. Here then were three constitutional points, all fairly disputable, which the Queen would naturally wish to settle in her own favour; and it probably occurred to her that the urgency of the occasion, and the enthusiastic loyalty which she could so well count upon in times of national danger, might enable her silently to advance a step in these directions. Nor was she altogether mistaken. In the first point she succeeded completely for the time, and without a struggle. For when the Speaker proffered the usual petition for liberty of speech, the Lord Keeper was instructed to answer "that liberty of speech was granted in respect of the Aye and No; but not that every one should speak what he listed;"[1] a declaration which, in strict construction, denied liberty of *speech* and allowed only liberty of *vote*. And this principle, so frankly avowed, she took the earliest opportunity of enforcing in practice. For the first proceeding in the Lower House being the delivery of a petition relating to the succession of the Crown,[2] the members who introduced it,—Peter Wentworth and others,—were immediately called before the Council, and committed, some to the Tower and others to the Fleet; where they remained, I believe, to the end of the session; thus losing their liberty of vote and speech both. And when it was proposed to petition the Queen for their release (lest their constituents should complain of having to pay taxes to which their representatives had not consented), answer was made by the privy councillors that "her Majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself," and that to press her with the proposed suit "would only hinder them whose good they sought;"[3] with which answer the House seems to have been satisfied. This was no novelty, it is true; for many precedents might have been

[1] 22nd February. See D'Ewes, p. 469.
[2] 24th February. D'Ewes, p. 470.
[3] 10th March. D'Ewes, p. 497.

cited in justification; but it was one more added to the list, and a strong one. And so that point was made good for that time.

How she fared with regard to the two others will appear in the narrative of the proceedings; which I must give at some length, because of the prominent and unexpected part which Bacon played in them. If my interpretation of the Queen's policy be correct, the course he took will be more easily understood.

2.

The question of supply was brought forward on the 26th of February. Sir Robert Cecil set forth at large the danger in which England stood from the King of Spain; his ancient malice, visible in all the proceedings of past years, still as active as ever; his advantages greater than ever, by reason of his recent successes in Lorraine and Brittany, his intrigues in Scotland, and the numbers of the Catholic party gradually increasing. Sir John Wolley (another privy councillor) explained the conditions and designs of the Leaguers in France. And Sir John Fortescue (Chancellor of the Exchequer) followed with a statement of the Queen's finances, past and present; showing that all had been spent upon the great services of the kingdom,—in clearing the Crown of debt, in increasing the strength of the navy, in assisting the French king, and protecting the Netherlands;—that subsidies did not now yield above half the sum which they yielded in Henry VIII.'s time; and that all borrowed money had been repaid.

When the case had been thus set forth on behalf of the government, and motion made for "a select and grave Committee to consider of the dangers of the realm and of speedy supply and aid to her Majesty," Bacon (now knight of the shire for Middlesex, and therefore entitled, I suppose, to take a leading part among the independent members) rose to support the motion. Of his speech only the few opening sentences have been preserved, and, strange to say, they seem at first sight to have no bearing on the question under discussion. Speaking in favour of supply in a Parliament expressly called not for laws but money, all that remains of his speech relates not to money but to laws. But the truth was (and this it is which gives an interest to the small and mutilated fragment which has floated down to us) that he had notions of his own concerning the relations which subsisted between the Crown and Parliament, and the courtesies appertaining to them, which the proceeding of the Queen and her ministers on this occasion did not quite satisfy. In his later life at least, he held it for a point

of constitutional doctrine that between the sovereign and the people in a monarchy there was a tie of *mutual* obligation; the sovereign by advice and consent of Parliament making laws for the benefit of his people, and the people by their representatives in Parliament supplying the wants of the sovereign; therefore that the voting of money should never be proclaimed as the *sole* cause of calling a Parliament, but always accompanied with some other business of state tending to the good of the commonwealth.[1] It was also his constant opinion, expressed both early and late in life, that no greater benefit could be conferred on the commonwealth than a general revision of the whole body of laws, and the reduction of them into one consistent and manageable code. Now although it cannot be said that this Parliament was called for no business of state except money, considering how vitally the state was interested in the cause for which the money was wanted,—yet I suppose he thought it unfit that the necessities of the Crown and the demand for money should be placed so nakedly in the foreground, and all other functions of Parliament so completely set aside, as they seemed to be both in the Lord Keeper's speech on opening the session, and in those of the privy councillors on moving for the committee of supply. Seeking therefore to remove such an impression, and remembering what the Lord Keeper had said about the multiplicity of laws and the expediency of abridging them, he set that great topic in the front of his speech; and so contrived not only to draw attention towards the project itself, but also to impart to the meeting between the Queen and her people a more gracious aspect, by suggesting that if she wished them to make no more laws at that time, it was not from any forgetfulness of their just interest in legislation.

Such I take to be the most probable explanation of the apparent irrelevancy of the commencement of Bacon's speech; the end of it being (as we learn from the journals) to enforce the necessity of "present consultation and provision of treasure" to prevent "the dangers intended against the realm by the King of Spain, the Pope, and other confederates of the Holy League."[2] Of the particulars we know nothing but what is contained in the following imperfect and inaccurate report:—

Opening of Speech on Motion for Supply.

"Mr. Speaker.

"That which these honourable personages have spoken of

[1] See a letter to James I., in 1613, which will be given in its place.
[2] D'Ewes, p. 471.

their experience, may it please you to give me leave to deliver of my common knowledge.

"The cause of the assembling of all Parliaments hath been heretofore for Laws or Money; the one being the sinews of Peace, the other of War. To the one I am not privy; but the other I should know.

"I did take great contentment in her Majesty's speeches the other day delivered by the Lord Keeper, how that it was [fitting an abridgment were made of the laws and statutes of the realm]: a thing not to be done suddenly nor at one Parliament; nor scarce a whole year would suffice, to purge the statute-book nor lessen the volume of laws;—being so many in number that neither common people can half practise them, nor the lawyer sufficiently understand them;—than the which nothing should tend more to the eternal praise of her Majesty.

"The Romans appointed ten men who were to correct and recall all former laws, and set forth their Twelve Tables, so much of all men to be commended. The Athenienses likewise appointed six to that purpose. And Lewis IX.[1] of France did the like in reforming of laws," etc.

3.

Now to proceed with the narrative.

The committee was appointed without further discussion; met that afternoon; the next day, which was Tuesday, brought up their report, recommending the same grant which had been made by the last Parliament,—two subsidies and four fifteenths and tenths; with the same condition, that the present necessity should be stated in the Bill as the motive for so extraordinary a supply; to all which the House assented without opposition, and appointed another committee to meet on the following Saturday for the purpose of drawing up the articles and preamble.

So far all seemed to be going smoothly and rapidly enough. But the Lords were impatient. And whether it were that they really thought that the question would not bear three days' delay (which is

[1] So all the copies. I believe it should be XI. I have followed a MS. in the Hargrave Collection (324. 10), which agrees, except for a few verbal differences, with the copy in Townsend and D'Ewes. None of the journals which I have met with, either in print or manuscript, give any more. The words within brackets I have supplied by conjecture, something to that effect being necessary to complete the sense. But the inaccuracies of this report are of the less consequence, because the substance of all this will be found hereafter, in the "Proposal for an Amendment of the Laws," the "Offer of a Digest of Laws," and other places.

hard to believe), or that they had resolved (which I think more likely) to seize the first fair pretext for putting in their own claim to take part in such deliberations,—certain it is that on Thursday (only four days after the first motion) they sent a message to the Commons reminding them of the business, saying that they had expected to hear something from them before, and therefore had omitted as yet to do anything therein themselves, and now demanding a conference.[1] To this no objection was made. A committee was immediately named for the purpose; the conference took place the same afternoon, and the result was reported to the House the next morning by Sir Robert Cecil.

They had been invited to confer, it appeared, for the purpose of receiving some information from the Lord Treasurer, showing that a double subsidy would not be sufficient for the exigency. Subsidies, owing to some error or mismanagement in the assessment, did not now yield so much as they used to do. The double subsidy last granted, with its four fifteenths and tenths, had not brought into the treasury more than £280,000; and since it was granted, the Queen had been obliged to spend in these defensive wars above £1,030,000 of her own. Therefore a larger supply was required now, and a more speedy collection.

Thus far the proceeding seems to have been legitimate and unobjectionable. These explanations were material to an understanding of the case; the Lord Treasurer was the person who could best give them; and a conference between the two Houses was, according to the practice of those times, the constitutional channel of communication. Had they stopped there, the Commons would have taken the facts into consideration, and instructed their Committee of Supply accordingly.

But the Lord Treasurer, who was the spokesman, went further; and here it was that the Commons had need to be on their guard. He warned them, in the name of the Upper House, that "their Lordships would not in anywise give their assents to pass any act in their own House of less than *three* entire subsidies," payable in the *three* next years at two payments in each year.[2] Whether they would assent to so little as three, he left doubtful. "To what proportion of benevolence, or unto how much their Lordships *would* give their

[1] D'Ewes, p. 480.

[2] "Their denial" (says another report, Hargrave MS. 324. 21) "was flat. They might not, nor they would not, give their consents to less than a treble subsidy; and not to a treble nor a quadruple, unless the same were the better qualified, both in substance and in circumstance of time." The statement in the text is taken from the journal-book of the House, as quoted by D'Ewes. This report is from a MS. journal kept by some member, and probably gives more of the words actually spoken, though it may not represent more accurately the general effect.

assents in that behalf, they would not as then show;" but desired another conference.

Such was the substance of the Lord Treasurer's communication, as I gather it from the memorandum of Sir Robert Cecil's report entered in the original journal-book of the House of Commons;[1] and if it was not a proposal that the two Houses should, at a conference, *discuss the question of supply together*, I am at a loss for an interpretation of the words. Cecil, having finished his report, made no motion of his own, but referred it to the House.

Bacon, who had been a member of all the committees on this question, was present at the conference, and therefore had had all the night to consider what he should do. As his affairs then stood, it could have been no slight matter which determined him to oppose the Lord Treasurer's proposition. But the case was critical. Once admit the claim of the Lords to take part in *deliberations* on questions of supply, and half the power of the Commons would be gone. The encroachment must be withstood then and there. He came prepared; and as soon as Cecil sat down, he rose. "He yielded to the subsidy,"—that is, he was willing to vote for the additional subsidy which appeared by the statement of the Lord Treasurer to be required by the public service,—"but misliked that this House should join with the Upper House in the granting of it. For the custom and privilege, he said, of this House hath always been first to make offer of the subsidy from hence unto the Upper House.[2] And reason it is that we should stand upon our privilege. Seeing the burden resteth upon us as the greater number, no reason the thanks should be theirs. And in joining with them in this motion we shall derogate from ourselves; for the thanks will be theirs and the blame ours, they being the first movers. Wherefore I wish that in this action we should proceed, as heretofore we have done, apart by ourselves, and not joining with their Lordships. And to satisfy them, who expect an answer from us tomorrow, some answer would be made in all obsequious and dutiful manner." And out of his bosom he drew an answer framed by himself, to this effect: that they had considered of their Lordships' motion, and thought upon it as was fit, and in all willingness would address themselves to do as so great a cause deserved. But to join with their Lordships in this business they could not but with prejudice to the privileges of this House;

[1] D'Ewes, p. 483.

[2] The report from which this is taken adds here:—"Except it were that they present a Bill unto this House, and then we used to give our assents to the Bill and send it up again;" a sentence which, as it stands, interrupts the sense, and is probably either incorrectly reported or left incomplete; most likely the latter: for in the MS. copy of D'Ewes's Journals, the next sentence begins a fresh paragraph.

wherefore desired, as they were wont, so that now they might proceed therein by themselves apart from their Lordships. "Thus, I think," he added, "we may divide ourselves from their Lordships, and yet without dissension; for this is but an honourable emulation and division." To this he cited a precedent in Henry VIII.'s time, where four of the Lords came down into the Lower House, and informed them what necessity there was of a subsidy, and thereupon the House took it to consideration apart by themselves, and at last granted it."[1]

The motion seems to have taken the government party by surprise; for it met with no opposition, but being "well liked by the House," the Subsidy Committee was ordered to meet in the afternoon for the purpose of framing an answer, to be reported to the House the next morning. The Committee met accordingly at two o'clock on Friday. But doubts being raised as to the nature and extent of their commission,—some thinking that the question was already carried in favour of an answer in the spirit of Bacon's note, and that their business was only to agree upon the wording of it; others that they were appointed to consider generally what answer they thought fittest,—they parted for that day without agreeing upon anything. On Saturday morning however they met again, and the question being put to the vote, a majority of the Committee was in favour of an answer to the opposite effect, namely that they *would* grant a conference. Sir Robert Cecil reported their proceedings to the House, and delivered this as the recommendation of the Committee. The question was, whether it should be adopted.

Now this was precisely the proposition which should have been moved as an amendment to Bacon's motion the morning before. The point at issue was exactly the same,—Shall the Lower House consent to a conference with the Upper for the avowed purpose of assenting to a proposition, or discussing a question, of supply? They were not asked to come and receive information about the necessities of the kingdom or the state of the finances; they had heard all that at the last conference, and had been willing to hear whatever else the Lords had to communicate. What they had *not* heard then was the amount of subsidy which they must vote if they meant the bill to pass; and what they were now invited to hear must have been either that or something bearing upon that specific point. Still therefore the question was, what answer they should send. Bacon's opinion had been given already in the House, and the case being no way changed, there was no occasion for him to speak again. The other

[1] D'Ewes, p. 483; compared with the original MS. (Harl. 75) and with another report (Hargrave MSS. 324. 21).

member for Middlesex, Mr. Wroth, had voted with him in committee, and now spoke against the conference, as "prejudicial to the ancient liberties and privileges of the House, and to the authority of the same." Mr. Beale was of the same mind, and produced a precedent in point from the reign of Henry IV., when upon a like occasion the same proposal had been made, and upon the same ground refused, and the refusal had been allowed by the King as just. Sir Robert Cecil in reply pleaded *for* the conference, on the ground that the Lords, being some of them privy councillors, understood both the strength of the enemy and the resources of the kingdom better than the Commons could. But as to any misapprehension of the *object* of the conference, he said not a word. The debate ended at last in a resolution, carried by 217 to 128, "That *no* such conference should be had." Whereupon (to quote the fullest report I have met with, for the terms of the answer are important) "Committees to the number of thirty were appointed to go up to the Lords, and to say that we humbly thanked their Lordships for imparting to us, at our last meeting with them, matters of great consideration and needful for the state. We would think upon them accordingly as to such causes appertained. But where they desired our conference *about an aid and subsidies to be yielded to the Queen*, we would do therein amongst ourselves our best endeavours; because without breach of privilege to our own House we could not have conference with their Lordships; and for the maintenance of this privilege some precedents have been showed us in the like case."

The terms of the answer therefore left no room for any mistake as to the nature and limits of the objection which the Commons took to the proposal; and if they had mistaken the nature of the proposal itself, so that the objection was inapplicable, now was the time to set them right. But no. The answer of the Lords shows that the nature of the proposal had been understood quite correctly. For the report proceeds,—

"This answer Sir John Fortescu delivered to the Lords from the Lower House, speaking for the Committees. And the Lords, having received it and considered it apart after the delivery of it, came again and told the Committees, that they thought very well of it, and took it in kind part that the House did so well accept of their last meaning, and considered so throughly upon the things delivered; and desired us to go on our course with our best endeavours in these great causes. But where we denied a *conference* with them *about the subsidy*, they thought that point of honour a niceness more than needed to be stood upon; for *they and we make one House*, wherefore no such scruples ought to be observed, that we should not confer

together. It was for the *aid of the realm*, where they had as great an interest, bare as great a burden, as we; *therefore fittest we should join*. And for the precedent alleged, they desire it may be sent them."

How could the Upper House more distinctly assert its pretension to take part with the Lower in deliberations concerning supply? How more distinctly dispute the privilege of the Commons to deal with such questions "apart by themselves, and not joining with their Lordships"? But the Commons were not disposed to retreat.

"This being put to the question (continues the reporter), whether the precedent should be sent, it was clearly answered No."[1] They then merely ordered the Committee of Supply to meet again on Monday; and so Saturday's work ended.

4.

Sunday coming between gave the Court time to consider. The Queen, to whom of course everything was reported, found she had gone a step too far. She must give way; how to retreat without seeming to be beaten, was the question. But this was an art in which she excelled, and it may be fairly suspected that the plan of operations which commenced on Monday morning was designed and guided by herself.

In the first place, the Lower House was not to be pressed to submit its precedents to the consideration of the Upper. That motion was to be silently dropped. But it was privately explained to Mr. Beale that the precedent which he had produced was not in point; for in that case the Lords, having agreed among themselves to a greater subsidy than the Commons had granted, invited them to a conference in order that they might *confirm* what they had done; which was not the present proposition; and he was content to acknowledge in the House that he had mistaken the question, and that if he had understood it as it was meant, he would have been of a different opinion.

If upon this explanation the Commons should consent to reverse their resolution, so much the better: the principle of joint discussion might still be saved. But that could hardly be reckoned upon. For their objection to the conference had not in fact turned upon any such point. They had objected, not because they were asked to *confirm* a resolution which the Lords had taken, but because they were asked to *join in conference* with them *about a subsidy*. In the

[1] Hargrave MSS. 324. 29. A journal evidently made by some member of the Lower House.

second place therefore, the objection, if persevered in, was to be met by boldly declaring that it was *not* about a subsidy that they had been asked to confer; that the subject of the proposed conference was the dangers of the kingdom and the means of withstanding them; and that if any one had thought it was to be about a subsidy, he was mistaken. To do this after what had passed would require a firm countenance; but once done it would make all the rest easy; and since it would involve a virtual concession of the entire principle for which the Lower House contended, they would let it pass if they were wise.

The plan of operation having been thus laid (so at least I suspect; for we have no means of knowing what did actually pass between the Queen and her ministers, but are left to infer it from the proceedings which followed), the business was opened on Monday morning by an explanation from Mr. Beale. He said that since the decision of the House was supposed to have been influenced by the precedent which he had quoted, it was right they should know that he had quoted it under a misapprehension of the question under discussion. He showed in what respects his precedent failed to fit the present case; and wished that, if any had been led by him, they would now be satisfied; for if he had conceived the matter aright, he should himself have thought differently. "There being but a *conference* desired of the Lords, and no *confirming* of anything they had done, he thought they might, and it was fit they should, confer." The explanation being made, it was immediately moved by two of the privy councillors (Sir Thomas Heneage and Sir John Wolley) that Saturday's resolution be reversed, as having proceeded upon a mistake.

For this however the House (as might have been expected) was not quite ready. What the precise mistake had been,—to what therefore, if they revoked their No, they would be understood as saying Yes,—was not yet clear. And to remove all doubt, Sir Henry Unton, after reciting the whole proceeding, moved that they should agree to "*confer* with the Lords about a subsidy, *but not in any sort to be conformed therein unto them.*" Hereupon Sir Robert Cecil, finding I suppose that they were falling back into the old dispute, resolved at last to throw the disputed point fairly overboard; wondered what the last speaker could be thinking of; "his motion was that they should confer with the Lords about a subsidy, but not conclude a subsidy with them; which motion seemed contrary to his meaning, or else it was *more than ever was meant;* for it was *never desired* of them by the Lords to confer *about a subsidy.*" This avowal removed at once all obstacles to agreement, and when, upon the motion of Sir Walter Raleigh, "the Speaker put the question, whether they would have a

general conference with the Lords or no? it was answered by all, Aye."[1] A message was sent accordingly, which was graciously received, and it was agreed that the conference should take place next day.

Still it was necessary to be watchful, for still there was room for more misunderstanding. They had agreed to *confer;* but "what (asked Sir Thomas Heneage) are we to confer upon? For either we must conform ourselves to somewhat that they will say, or else we must deliver them somewhat that we will say; for *we desiring their conference*, and to come with nothing to say to them, will be unfit for us."[2] A statement of the case so obviously inaccurate, that one can hardly help suspecting a design in it; the rather because, when it was very justly objected to as "a mistaking of the thing agreed upon," the objector was suddenly called to account by two of the privy councillors for imputing a mistake to the Vice-Chamberlain, and that with a degree of unnecessary sharpness which is most easily explained by supposing that the objection was fatal to their scheme. But however that may be, it was resolved at last that they should have authority to confer generally about the dangers and remedies, but "not in any manner of wise to conclude anything particularly" without first reporting the whole proceeding to the House and receiving further orders.

With this commission they went up to the Lords, and told them that "if they desired to enter into speech of the great cause, they were ready to hear them. But if they would have them to descend into consideration of it amongst themselves, they desired a little respite, and by Thursday would bring them a resolute determination."[3]

And now what had the Lords to say, which they might not have said last Thursday? Of the subsidies not a word. Not a word of what they had said before on that subject (if two independent reports of the conference may be trusted) was repeated; not a word added to it. But they had to inform them of "divers dangers not heard of before;" a new sum of 50,000 crowns had been sent into Scotland by Spain; the Scotch king had gone into the north, and there was fear that, willingly or unwillingly, he would be taken by the lords who were combined against him. These and the like intelligences they imparted to the Commons for their consideration; consented to give them a clear day to consult upon the case; and expected their answer on Thursday afternoon.

It is clear therefore that the Lords had at last silently abandoned their former position; for what they now so easily assented to was

[1] Hargrave MSS. 324. 27.
[2] Hargrave MSS. 324. 27 b.
[3] Hargrave MSS. 324.

in fact *all* that the Commons upon Bacon's motion had asked. The communication from the Upper House had been received; they would take it into consideration apart by themselves.

5.

The point of privilege being now no longer in the way, the original question came on again, and was referred to the same Committees, who were ordered to meet on Wednesday afternoon, with a general commission "to confer of all matters of remedies." And now Bacon, —whose name has not been mentioned in any of the proceedings since Friday, when he raised the question which we have just seen settled,—appears again upon the stage.

The Lords had in their first conference demanded a bill of not less than three subsidies, payable in three years. Now the invariable custom had hitherto been to allow two years for the payment of each subsidy. The proposition would therefore involve a double innovation. Not only the total amount of taxation ordinarily imposed by one Parliament would be trebled (which if Parliaments were less frequent might, as far as the burden went, have come to the same thing), but the amount payable in each of these three years would be doubled. And it might well be thought a hazardous experiment, however unexceptionable the purpose and however popular the occasion, to introduce two such novelties at once; first a breach of constitutional usage, which in so tender a matter might naturally awaken jealousy in the people; and next, at the very same instant to send the tax-gatherer among them to demand twice as much as they had ever before been called on to pay. The latter was probably the more hazardous step of the two; for it could hardly be known till tried whether the people *could* pay so much; and accordingly it was upon this point that dispute arose in the Committee. Indeed the Government party themselves so far modified the proposal as to allow four years instead of three for the payment of the three subsidies.[1] And this, as I gather, was the motion submitted to the Committee.

Now Bacon, it will be remembered, had from the first declared his assent to the treble subsidy; but the innovation in the mode of collection, even thus modified, was greater than he was prepared to advise; and after a speech from Mr. Heale in favour of a still larger grant than the one proposed,—which he contended that the country, being so much richer than heretofore, could well afford,—he rose at once to oppose it. The note which has been preserved of his speech runs thus:—

[1] D'Ewes, p. 493.

Speech on Motion for a Grant of Three Subsidies, Payable in Four Years.

"Mr. Francis Bacon assented to three subsidies, but not to the payment under six years; and to this propounded three reasons, which he desired might be answered.

"1. Impossibility or difficulty.

"2. Danger and discontentment.

"3. A better manner of supply than subsidy.

"For impossibility, the poor men's rent is such as they are not able to yield it, and the general commonalty is not able to pay so much upon the present. The gentlemen must sell their plate and the farmers their brass pots ere this will be paid. And as for us, we are here to search the wounds of the realm and not to skin them over; wherefore we are not to persuade ourselves of their wealth more than it is.

"The danger is this: we [shall thus] breed discontentment in the people. And in a cause of jeopardy, her Majesty's safety must consist more in the love of her people than in their wealth. And therefore [we should beware] not to give them cause of discontentment. In granting[1] these subsidies thus we run into [two] perils. The first [is that] in putting two payments into one [year], we make it a double subsidy; for it maketh 4*s*. in the pound a payment. The second is, that this being granted in this sort, other princes hereafter will look for the like; so we shall put an ill precedent upon ourselves and to our posterity; and in histories it is to be observed that of all nations the English care not to be subject, base, taxable, etc.

"The manner of supply may be by levy or imposition when need shall most require. So when her Majesty's coffers are empty, they may be imbursed by these means."[2]

So ends the note; the last paragraph breaking off, as it would seem, abruptly; and not giving even the substance (so at least I infer from comparing it with Bacon's own words in a letter written shortly after, which will appear in its place) of the proposition with which he concluded; which I think was this: that *two* subsidies should be granted and raised in the ordinary way; but that some difference should be made with regard to the third, with a view partly to mark

[1] *paying* in MS.

[2] Hargrave MSS. 324. 33; compared with D'Ewes, p. 493. The words within brackets supplied by conjecture.

it as extraordinary (for the mere insertion of a proviso that it was not to be a precedent, though it might do for once, would if often repeated lose all its value, and pass into a precedent itself), and partly to prevent the burden from falling upon the poorer classes.[1] But of the exact terms of his amendment no record has been preserved.

How far these objections were just, it is not easy at this distance of time to judge. But that they were urged out of a sincere apprehension that the measure proposed was hazardous, and rather to save the government from embarrassments to come than to obstruct them at the moment, no one I think can doubt who considers Bacon's position, and reads the record, imperfect as it is, of the proceedings which followed. We may not indeed conclude that he was the *only* speaker who opposed the proposition of the government in the Committee: for many speeches may have been, and some probably were, made of which we have no account; but when we find that, of the only speakers who are mentioned as having risen after him, four addressed themselves directly to answer his arguments, and the other four all spoke in favour of the grant, only recommending some independent measures to accompany it; and that a proposition to grant three subsidies and six fifteenths and tenths,—payable, the first at a single payment in the first year, the second at a single payment in the second year, the third at two payments in the third and fourth years,—was agreed to without a division in the Committee, and confirmed "by all without any contradiction"[2] in the whole House; we may at least conclude that there was no popular party in opposition strong enough to be worth conciliating at the expense of offending the party in power. The result of the experiment proved indeed that he was *mistaken* in thinking that the country could so ill bear such an increase of taxation; for though the struggle in anticipation of which it was imposed never came, and during the two years in which the double payment was exacted internal peace gave leisure enough for discontent to express itself, it does not appear that any difficulty was experienced in the collection, or that the overpressure of *subsidies* (though the burden was increased instead of diminished during the remaining years of Elizabeth's reign) ever took a prominent place among grievances. But the mistake (if mistake it was) was a natural one, and shared by many. It is evident from the records which remain of the speeches both in this Parliament and the

"It is true that, from the beginning, *whatsoever was above a double subsidy* I did wish might for precedent's sake appear to be extraordinary, and for discontent's sake might not be levied upon the poorer sort."—Letter to Burghley, undated. See p. 233.

[2] D'Ewes, p. 495.

last, that the continual increase of taxation[1] was a subject of general anxiety among the Members. And it was one on which Bacon might easily suppose himself in some respects better able to form an opinion than the Queen or her ministers. As a Member of the Commons, now of some years' experience, and representing such constituencies as Liverpool and Middlesex; as a lawyer, who heard the talk of the Inns of Court and Westminster Hall; as a poor man, before whom people would talk without reserve; as a seeker for knowledge in all quarters, whereby he was brought into familiar communication with craftsmen as well as learned men; he had opportunities of feeling the popular pulse which greater persons could not have. And thinking the measure proposed by the Government hazardous, he recommended another which he thought safer and yet sufficient for the occasion. Being out-voted however, he acquiesced in the decision and offered no further obstruction.

6.

On Thursday, at the hour appointed, the resolution of the Commons was signified to the Lords, and received with expressions studiously framed to efface all traces of the previous misunderstanding: the Commons "desiring their Lordships' correspondency with them *in this their cause*," and at the same time intimating a hope that "in some other things which they had not yet resolved" they would "join with them in recommending the matters to her Majesty;" the Lords, on their part, acknowledging that the offer of subsidy "*came from them* as feeling and understanding the dangers they were in," praising their zeal, and adding that "they would commend nothing unto them, because they did perceive it needless."[2] Thus all was in tune again. The Bill—after a little delay in arranging details, some of which were new, but without any further dispute on the main points—passed through its regular stages, and was in due time presented by the Speaker to the Queen; who (after a slight rebuke conveyed by the mouth of the Lord Keeper to "some persons,"—meaning Bacon,—"who had seemed to regard their countries, and made their necessity more than it was, forgetting the necessity of the time,") received it in her own person with all thanks and gracious acknowledgment. And on the whole she had good reason to be satisfied. The project of introducing a custom of joint consultation between

[1] During the first twenty-six years of Elizabeth's reign, only six subsidies had been granted, the intervals between one and another being generally four and sometimes five years. During the last eight, four had been granted; more than double the average. During the next twelve, there were granted no less than ten; nearly quadruple.

[2] Hargrave MSS. 324. 37.

the two Houses in matters of supply had indeed failed, and the Commons remained in secure possession of their privilege; but the prescription which forbade one Parliament to grant more than one subsidy was effectually overthrown. And this was a better thing: for subsequent experience showed that when their privilege was not questioned, they were far from niggardly in the use of it.

7.

There were many other businesses during this Parliament in which Bacon was engaged, but only one in which a memorandum has been preserved of what he said or did, full enough to deserve a place in this work. One or two reports made by him of the proceedings of Committees;[1] one or two observations made in the middle of half-reported debates,[2] I pass by as unimportant in themselves and scarcely intelligible without long discussion, which would throw no light upon his character or opinions. Of the part he took in mitigating the severities of a bill against Recusants no record remains, except what may be inferred from a passage in one of his brother's letters, in which he says that "the rigours contained in it were of many misliked, and namely of us brothers, who will do our best against them."[3] But we have a tolerably full abstract of a speech which he made on the 20th of March against a "Bill for the better expedition of justice in the Star Chamber," in which, as holding the reversion of the clerkship of that Court, he had a personal interest. The office was then held by Mr. Mill, against whom complaints were made which led afterwards to a commission of inquiry, as we shall see in due time; and it was probably against the alleged abuses of his administration that this bill was aimed; but as it was rejected upon the second reading, no record of the provisions has come down to us, more than may be gathered from this speech. I transcribe all that relates to it from the Hargrave MS. to which I have so often referred, and which seems to be a copy of that "Journal of the House of Commons, very exactly and elaborately taken by an anonymous being a member of the same," so frequently quoted by D'Ewes; and a more correct copy than the one he used.

SPEECH ON THE SECOND READING OF A BILL FOR THE BETTER EXPEDITION OF JUSTICE IN THE STAR CHAMBER.

Neither profit nor peril shall move me to speak against my conscience in this place. Yet because I am a party interessed in

[1] D'Ewes, pp. 503, 516.
[2] D'Ewes, p. 515. Lincoln's Inn MSS. (Hale, 138. 178).
[3] Letter to A. Standen, 14th March, 1592-3. Lambeth MSS. 648. 98.

this office which the Bill aims at, and so may seem to speak with feeling,—myself also not thinking it fit that being here a judge I should speak also as a party,—yet I beseech you, as the manner is in places judicial, if the Judge be a party, though he sit not then as a Judge, yet may he descend[1] and speak as a party at the bar in his own cause,—so I beseech you, because I may hap yield reason to the satisfying of any that yet may stand for the Bill, let me be heard speak at the bar.

He offered to go to the bar, but the House in favour would needs have him speak in the place where he sat.

First, there is cunning showed in the Bill, and for that my Lord Keeper might be affected unto it, it seems to give him the bestowing of the Clerk's place.

Secondly, to insinuate with practising lawyers, it gave them a fee; for no interrogatories should be ministered whereto their hand was not subscribed.

Thirdly, it offered also some kindness to myself; for it gave a present forfeiture of the office upon sundry causes.

Fourthly, to the subjects generally it pretended great relief. So it carried a very plausible show.

But indeed the Bill was in itself prejudicial to her Majesty, injurious[2] to the Judges of that Court, and burthensome to the subject.

Prejudicial to her Majesty; for it made a diminution of her inheritance. For the Clerk's place hath always been in her Majesty's gift, and this Bill would carry it to the Lord Keeper, who never before had it.

An indignity offered to the Judges of that Court; for that their Clerk must be ordered by an Act of Parliament, as if their wisdom and care were not sufficient to relieve any abuse they should find in their officers to the grievance of the subject.

Great injury hereby offered to the parties interessed; for first an office which is incident to the Clerk is given from him, and he shall not have the appointing of his own examiner.[3]

[1] *defend* in MS.

[2] So the Hargrave MS. Another in the Lincoln's Inn Library (Hale MSS. 138. 171), which D'Ewes seems to have followed, gives *inconvenient*. I suspect that a clause has dropped out, and that we should read, "injurious to the parties interessed, an indignity to the judges," etc.

[3] So the Lincoln's Inn MS. and D'Ewes. The Hargrave MS. has "*if* an office, etc., *should be* given from him, *he should not*," etc.

Again, the ancient fee hath always been 12*d.* the sheet, and as much is in other Courts, therefore this not intolerable: and considering the place of his attendance, his fee[1] is in the highest Court, whereupon in reason his fee is to have proportion with the place of his attendance.

Now where relief and ease of charge and suits is pretended to the subject, no such thing will come by this Bill, but rather a greater charge.

For it gives a fee for judicial acts, as for making reports, for which no fee is due.

It appoints that a counsellor's hand must be to all interrogatories, so their client must pay for a fee more than he used.

Also whereas usually, upon commission, the parties talking with their deponents have cause presently to draw interrogatories they thought not upon before, now they cannot minister any such interrogatories. Nay to every commission sitting they must bring their counsel, which will be an exceeding charge.

Besides the Commissioners are bound under a pain not to accept interrogatories that are not signed under a counsellor's hand. So the Commissioners must take notice at their perils who be counsellors admitted to the parties, who not.

These with many other reasons, etc.

8.

This is all we know of this matter as far as Bacon is concerned. But the conclusion of the debate, as recorded by the same hand, may as well be added; the rather because it introduces us to a person with whom we shall hereafter have much to do, in a position very characteristic.

"Many (continues the reporter) spake against the Bill, and others as earnestly stood for it, that it might be recorded. The Speaker hereupon propounded the question: As many as will have the Bill rejected, say I; as many as will not have the Bill rejected, say No. The House was divided, because the voice was so indifferent as it could not be discerned which was the greater. The question then grew whether part should go out, those that said I or those that said No.

Mr. Speaker.

"The order of the House is that the 'I' being against the Bill always

[1] So the Hargrave MS. The sentence is altogether incorrect, a clause having probably dropped out. But the meaning is clear. The Lincoln's Inn MS. has *place* instead of *fee*.

sit, and the 'No' being for the Bill must go out. And the reason is that the inventors that will have a new law are to go out and bring it in, and they that are for the law in possession must keep the House, for they sit to continue that which is."

"The subtilty in propounding the question gained the casting away of the Bill; for, as it was afterwards murmured amongst the most part, the Bill having been read now the second time, the question by right should have been whether they would have it *committed* or no."

The Speaker was Mr. Edward Coke, who had been Solicitor-General since June, and aspired to be Attorney-General upon the next vacancy, of which there was now an immediate prospect; for the Mastership of the Rolls was already vacant by the death of Sir Gilbert Gerrard on the 4th of February preceding.[1] Coke had had no experience in Parliament; but had got up the precedents and was ready in every emergency to lay down the law; and what with his great reputation, what with his confidence and force of will, what with his dexterity, he contrived to keep the House in very good order, and proved himself a most effective ally of the Government. The instance just quoted was not the only one in which, if the same reporter may be trusted, his "subtlety in putting the question" saved an inconvenient discussion. The preamble of the Subsidy Bill, we are told, would have undergone further consideration, "but that the Speaker, perceiving the privy councillors of the House desirous to have the Bill expedited, did overreach the House in the subtle putting of the question."[2] He had also borne a principal part in disposing of another difficulty, which involved considerations of still higher moment. A motion had been made (27th February) by Mr. Morris, Attorney of the Court of Wards,—a lawyer of very high character,—for leave to bring in a Bill to restrain certain abuses of authority practised by the Ecclesiastical Commission.[3] This being a forbidden subject, for raising which, that day six years, four members had been sent to the Tower,[4] the Bill was objected to by the more moderate of the Government party on that ground; and Sir Robert Cecil, observing that "it seemed to contain things needful," proposed to avoid the difficulty by having it first "commended to the Queen" privately, that so it might be "recommended" by her to them; in which behalf he offered his own services. Here, as the question seemed to be turning upon a point of order or privilege, Coke, though not appealed to, felt called upon to give an opinion; but first, because the Bill was long and had many parts, so that "if they put

[1] See Extract from the parish register of Ashley, where he was buried.—Notes and Queries, vol. vii. p. 609.

[2] D'Ewes, p. 500. [3] D'Ewes, p. 474. [4] See above, p. 66.

him presently to open it, he could not (he said) so readily understand it and do it as he should," he was allowed to take it home to read, the debate being in the meantime adjourned. He had scarcely read it through, when a special messenger summoned him to the Queen. She, to his great comfort, did not ask to *see* the Bill (which he had promised that none but himself should see), but only to know "what were the things in it that were spoken to by the House." Which having heard, she commanded him to tell them from her that it was in her power to call Parliaments, in her power to end them, in her power to assent or dissent to anything done in them; that having declared her pleasure by the Lord Keeper, namely "that it was not meant they should meddle with causes of state or matters ecclesiastical," she "wondered any could be so forgetful of her commandment to attempt a thing" which she had so expressly forbidden; finally, to prevent all further misunderstanding, "her present charge and express command was that no Bill touching the said matters of state or reformation in causes ecclesiastical be exhibited." All this she commanded the Speaker to deliver as from herself to "the body of the realm," as she called them. All this he delivered faithfully; adding only for himself that "upon his allegiance he was commanded, if any such Bill were exhibited, not to read it," and leaving them to conclude that he had no duty but to obey.[1] All this the House heard without remonstrance in word or deed. So that a precedent more full and unequivocal in favour of the Queen's right to determine what subjects should be discussed in Parliament and what not, could hardly have been devised. The imprisonment of Peter Wentworth and his friends a few days before did not directly raise, and therefore could not directly settle the question; for the House had avoided the difficulty by affecting not to know what their Members had been imprisoned for.[2] Now they had no such subterfuge. The Queen's formal message through the Speaker left no room for doubt either as to the fact that she was interfering with their proceedings, or as to the grounds upon which she claimed the right to interfere. Nor was it a trifling increase of weight which the precedent gained from the part which Coke had to take in it. For so ready as he was to interpose his opinion in the debates of the House whenever any question of law or usage gave him an opportunity, his acquiescence in a course of silent submission on this occasion could hardly go for less than an admission on his part that the Queen *had* the right which she claimed. And though it be true that in his later life he decided the question the other way,[3] we are not therefore justified in doubting that his

[1] D'Ewes, p. 478-9. Hargr. MSS. 324. [2] See above, p. 211.
[3] Inst. part iv. chap. 1. "This" (the Speaker's petition on being presented to

admission was on this occasion sincere and conscientious. It is certain that many similar acts might have been cited in defence of the Queen's proceeding, and if the question had at that time been determined by the preponderance of precedents, it would probably have been carried in her favour.

9.

But whether he were right or wrong as regarded the constitutional point, there can be no doubt that he was right as regarded his own prospects of promotion. His conduct as Speaker, besides being good service in itself, had given token of a serviceable disposition, and contained promise of merits to come as well as proof of merits past. And therefore it may seem strange that, when it was resolved to promote the Attorney-General to the vacant Mastership of the Rolls, the Queen should have hesitated whom to make Attorney. That her choice settled at last upon Coke need surprise no one. But that Bacon was put forward and upheld for a whole year as a likely competitor, is a fact which calls for explanation. Coke was in the very prime of life, and though rather young for the office (being only forty-one), his reputation was already so great, his professional learning and experience so extensive, and his mastery of all the weapons of his craft so perfect, that youth was in his case no disadvantage; his energy was unrivalled; his constitution equal to any quantity of work; he had incurred no suspicion of popularity; and his devotion to the service of the Crown was not likely to be interfered with either by nice scruples or by alien interests. Bacon was nine years younger; had had little or no practice in the Courts; what proof he had given of professional proficiency was confined to his readings and exercises in Gray's Inn: his influence as a speaker in the House of Commons would be of no avail, for the Attorney-General was not then considered eligible; Law, far from being his only, was not even his favourite, study; his constitution was delicate and his health uncertain; his head was full of ideas so new and large, that to most of those

the King) "is in the Parliament Rolls called a Protestation, in respect of the first part," *i.e.* that the Commons may have free speech, etc.; "the nature of which is to be the exclusion of a conclusion; and herein, that the House of Commons be *not concluded to speak only of those things which the King or Lord Chancellor hath delivered to them to be the causes of the calling of this Court of Parliament*, but in a Parliamentary course of all other arduous and urgent business, which principally consists of these five branches," etc.; the *state of the Church of England* being expressly mentioned as one.

His argument turns chiefly upon the terms used in the writs of summons, and is by no means so conclusive as to justify us in assuming that he saw the force of it in 1593. It is, in truth, one of those arguments which do very well for the stronger party, but are worth little or nothing in the mouth of the weaker.

about him they must have seemed visionary; he had just shown that he was not to be reckoned upon even as a supporter, on all occasions, of the Government, much less as an unscrupulous partisan or obedient instrument; and he was at this very time and for that very thing an object of the Queen's marked and serious displeasure. How came such a man at such a time to be so much as proposed or seriously thought of as a fit competitor with Coke for such an office as that of Attorney-General? The true answer I suspect is, that the Queen knew them both, and was aware not only of some very great merits in Bacon which were not in Coke, but also of some very great defects in Coke which were not in Bacon. Such merits and such defects there certainly were, as after-trial abundantly proved—merits and defects sufficient in my opinion (the nature of the times and the duties of the office considered) to have turned the scale in favour of the younger man, the less learned lawyer, and the more scrupulous politician. For Coke was, from defect of judgment, always putting himself in the wrong, and from defects of temper, always turning men's hearts against him; whereas Bacon's judgment rarely failed to guide him to the most impregnable position which his case contained; and his temper never betrayed him into the use of language justly offensive or needlessly irritating. Of this the Queen had probably seen something, but not all; and it is to her partial apprehension of the truth that I attribute the difficulty she found in making up her mind, out of which grew the greater part of the correspondence through which we have next to travel, and which I will endeavour to make as little tedious as the case admits.

10.

At whose suggestion Bacon was proposed for *Attorney* (his pretensions to the Solicitorship were obvious and natural), it is not difficult to guess. The Earl of Essex had every motive for wishing his friend in the higher office. He really believed him to be the fitter man, he knew him to be affectionately attached to himself, the mere reputation of procuring such an appointment under such circumstances would draw all suitors into his service, and his was a temper and a time of life upon which obstacles act as incentives. The greatest obstacle was the offence which the Queen had taken at Bacon's conduct in Parliament; but Essex's strength was in her affection, and his pride in subduing her inclinations to his own.

Her displeasure was no secret. Bacon had heard of it from Burghley, and written him a letter in explanation, the tone of which is very remarkable; remarkable not only for the absence of all expressions

implying regret for what he had done or intention to do otherwise in future (which is the less surprising, because as he could have had no motive for what he did except a conviction that it was right, so nothing had happened since to alter his opinion), but also for his apparent unconsciousness of having given any just cause of offence. He writes as if he thought it strange that any fault should be found with a member of Parliament for moving an amendment which he honestly believed to be an improvement upon the original motion,—as if his opposition to the Government measure could require no justification even in the eyes of ministers beyond an assurance that he really disapproved of it. Nor is there any reason for thinking that his surprise was affected. For when we remember that the proceedings of the Commons were then quite private, and that a member of the House had no more right to publish abroad what had been said within its walls, than a privy councillor to divulge the secrets of the Council Table, we may understand how this might really be the case then, strange as it sounds now; for in every assembly which is truly *deliberative*,—in every assembly whose business is not to decide whether this or that shall be done, but to consider *what* shall be done,—this liberty of counsel must always be expected and allowed; and such was still the character of the Lower House, though symptoms of a great change were already showing themselves. The letter is without date, but was probably written in March, 1592-3; the speech in question having been made on the 7th of that month. It is the first of Bacon's letters which has been preserved by his own care.[1]

A Letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, in excuse of his Speech in Parliament against the Triple Subsidy.

It may please your Lordship,

I was sorry to find by your Lordship's speech yesterday that my last speech in Parliament, delivered in discharge of my

[1] The collection from which it is taken (Additional MSS. Brit. Mus. 5503. 1) appears to be a fair copy of that "Register Book of Letters" mentioned in Bacon's will, from which Rawley published the first division of the letters in the 'Resuscitatio.' The hand is (I think) that of one of Bacon's own men,—certainly a contemporary; and the collection is the same, or an independent copy of the same, which Rawley used. Where the two copies differ, the MS. seems to me, in most cases, to give the better reading; and therefore I shall follow it in my text, giving the readings of the 'Resuscitatio' in the notes.

Of many of the letters (this among the rest) there are also copies in the 'Cabala;' all very inaccurately printed, but some from originals differing considerably from the copies in the Register Book. These I shall carefully collate, and preserve in the notes such differences as seem to be important.

conscience and duty to God her Majesty and my country, was offensive. If it were misreported, I would be glad to attend your Lordship to disavow anything I said not. If it were misconstrued, I would be glad to expound my words,[1] to exclude any sense I meant not. If my heart be misjudged by imputation of popularity or opposition by any envious or officious informer, I have great wrong; and the greater, because the manner of my speech did most evidently show that I spake simply and only to satisfy my conscience, and not with any advantage or policy to sway the cause; and my terms carried all signification of duty and zeal towards her Majesty and her service. It is true that from the beginning, whatsoever was above a double subsidy, I did wish might (for precedent's sake) appear to be extraordinary, and (for discontent's sake) mought not have been levied upon the poorer sort; though otherwise I wished it as rising as I think this will prove, and more. This was my mind, I confess it. And therefore I most humbly pray your Lordship,[2] first to continue me in your own good opinion: and then to perform the part of an honest[3] friend towards your poor servant and ally,[4] in drawing her Majesty to accept of the sincerity and simplicity of my heart, and to bear with the rest, and restore me to her Majesty's favour.[5]

11.

This letter, being a justification and no apology, was far from satisfying the Queen. It was not so that she chose to be served. Bacon, whom she had hitherto distinguished by unusual freedom of access, was now forbidden to come into her presence; and as he had nothing more to offer in the way of submission or defence, at least nothing that was likely to be more satisfactory,—for a repetition of his arguments would have made matters worse,—the road in which he had been hitherto encouraged to look for fortune seemed to be closed for ever. At the same time his means were running very low. He had some heavy debts, and his brother, who was always ready to lend, even at the cost of becoming himself a borrower, was now obliged by importunate creditors to think of selling a part of his patrimony. Some course must be thought of at once either for increasing income

[1] *myself*: R.
[2] *good lordship*: R.
[3] *honourable*: R. *honourable good*: Cab.
[4] *alliance*: R.
[5] *to accept of the sincerity and simplicity of my zeal, and to hold me in her Majesty's favour, which is to me dearer than my life. And so, etc., Your Lordship's most humble in all duty, Fr. Bacon*: Cab.

or reducing expenditure. He explained the case to Essex, and told him what he thought of doing. Essex disapproved his project and endeavoured to dissuade him. But the fragment of letter from which I learn this circumstance unluckily breaks off without explaining more, and leaves us equally in the dark as to Bacon's design and Essex's objection. I print it from a copy at Lambeth,[1] written in the hand of one of his brother's men, and docketed "Une lettre au Mons. le Compte d'Essex de Mons. François Bacon, 1593, au mois d'Avrill." The rest it must tell for itself.

To the Earl of Essex.

My Lord,

I did almost conjecture by your silence and countenance a distaste in the course I imparted to your Lordship touching mine own fortune; the care whereof in your Lordship as it is no news to me, so nevertheless the main effects and demonstrations thereof past are so far from dulling in me the sense of any new, as contrariwise every new refresheth the memory of many past. And for the free and loving advice your Lordship hath given me, I cannot correspond to the same with greater duty, than by assuring your Lordship that I will not dispose of myself without your allowance; not only because it is the best wisdom in any man in his own matters to rest in the wisdom of a friend (for who can by often looking in the glass discern and judge so well of his own favour, as another with whom he converseth?), but also because my affection to your Lordship hath made mine own contentment inseparable from your satisfaction. But notwithstanding, I know it will be pleasing to your good Lordship that I use my liberty of replying; and I do almost assure myself that your Lordship will rest persuaded by the answer of those reasons which your Lordship vouchsafed to open. They were two; the one that I should include . . .

Here our light goes suddenly out, just as we were going to see how Bacon had resolved to dispose of himself at this juncture. Knowing however which way his thoughts had turned the year before,[2] when the same question pressed for decision, and were again to turn two years after,[3] we may venture to guess that his plan was to abandon the Court, from which he could no longer hope for preferment, to

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 74.
[2] See letter to Burghley, p. 109.
[3] See Letter to Anthony Bacon, Jan. 25, 1594.

give up the practice of a profession by which he could not earn a livelihood without the expense of more time than he was willing to spare, to turn his fortune into an annuity, and himself into a poor student. From such a course, Essex both from public and private reasons would naturally wish to dissuade him; nor is anything more likely than that (the Mastership of the Rolls having just fallen vacant) the eagerness of his friendship, joined with a somewhat presumptuous confidence in his influence with the Queen, should tempt him to enforce his arguments by promising to get Bacon made Attorney-General upon the first change of offices. Upon which Bacon could hardly do otherwise than suspend his determination till he saw how the undertaking was likely to succeed.

This being agreed on, the first thing to be done was to engage Burghley's interest in the cause, and, if possible, as a first mover. Bacon did not however venture (remembering perhaps the admonition he had received from him on a former occasion) to propose it to him directly; but, breaking the matter to Sir Thomas Cecil, requested him to ascertain first how his father was likely to receive such a proposal. This I learn from the following letter,[1] unluckily without date, but written evidently about this time. Sir Thomas Cecil was Burghley's eldest son by his first wife.

It may please your Lordship: The title of being your son, as it is the cause that many do use me as their mediator unto your Lordship in their private suits, an office which often through importunity I am thrust unto against my will, yet at this time I must confess I am importuned with my will to be a motioner unto your Lordship for one nearly allied to your house, and whose gifts and qualities of mind I know your Lordship will not think unfit [for] the place he seeketh. It is Mr. Francis Bacon, who hearing of late that the Attorney is likened for the Master of the Rolls, his desire is to be remembered by me unto your Lordship's good acceptance and conceit of him for[2] that place which Mr. Attorney shall leave, and thereby to be recommended by your Lordship to her Majesty. My Lord, I cannot better recommend the good parts that are in the gentleman than I know your Lordship's own opinion is of him. But I know none that is likely to be called to the place that is and ought to be more assured to your Lordship than he; and an honour to your Lordship to prefer them that are assuredly tied to your Lordship in blood as well as in benefit, if their worth be fit for the place.

Thus my Lord I have discharged both my promise and desire to do the gentleman good, and he doth rest to know by me how your Lordship doth accept of this motion; which I humbly beseech your Lordship to signify unto me by your letter, or to himself in my absence; who according as he

[1] Lansdowne MSS. 89. 209.

[2] *of* in MS.

shall hear from your Lordship, meaneth himself to wait upon your Lordship; in the meantime forbeareth for modesty's sake to speak for himself. And so craving pardon of your Lordship for this my boldness, I humbly take my leave. From

Your Lordship's most loving and obedient Son.

I had myself moved your Lordship herein, but that at my passing by I had neither fit time nor place.

This letter is a copy, in the hand I believe of Michael Hicks, Burghley's secretary; docketed:—"Coppy. S[r] Tho. Cecill to my L. touching Mr. Fra. Bacon." It has no date, except a large 1606 in pencil; put in, I suppose, by the arranger of the volume, and certainly wrong, for Burghley died in 1598, and Bacon was knighted in 1603.

In the meantime Bacon, having communicated his wishes to Sir Robert Cecil and received an assurance of goodwill, requested him also to use his influence with his father for the same purpose, as appears by the following letter:—

To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil, Knight, one of her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.[1]

Sir,

I thank your Honour very much for the signification which I received by Mr. Hickes of your good opinion, good affection, and readiness. And as to the impediment which you mention and I did forecast, I know you bear that honourable disposition as it will rather give you apprehension to deal more effectually for me than otherwise; not only because the trial of friends is in case of difficulty, but again for that without that circumstance your Honour should be only esteemed a true friend and kinsman, whereas now you shall be furder judged a most honourable counsellor. For pardons are ever honourable, because they come from mercy, but most honourable towards such offenders. My desire is your Honour should break with my Lord your father as soon as may stand with your convenience, which was the cause why now I did write. And so I wish your Honour all happiness. From Gray's Inn, this 16th of April, 1593.

Your Honour's in faithful affection to be commanded,

Fr. Bacon.

[1] Lansdowne MSS. 75. f. 82. Original: own hand.

How Burghley received the motion we are not informed. Probably in silence, as not wishing to cross it, and yet thinking it injudicious, and feeling that it would be idle to apply for so high a preferment on behalf of a man whom the Queen was at the very time, whether justly or not, taking pains to distinguish by her displeasure. Such at least was the opinion of Sir Robert Cecil; as appears by the following letter, written about three weeks after the last, in answer to some application from Bacon for advice; the question being (it seems) whether he had better keep near the Court, so as to be at hand to take advantage of any favourable accident, or stay away until the Queen's displeasure abated. Cecil's advice, though worded (whether from caution or carelessness) rather obscurely, amounts to this: "make it your first object to obtain leave of access again, of which your best chance is through the Earl of Essex. Till this is obtained, it will be premature to apply for preferment;" advice which seems to me very judicious, and in the spirit of which Bacon, so far as he interfered in the matter himself, appears to have acted. Cecil's letter[1] runs thus:—

Cousin, I have received your letter wherein you request my help [and] advice. For the first, I do and will assure you of it as firmly and honestly as any man that can do it powerfully. But for the second, I must be tender with you, because the effect may be doubtful in things which are here so variable.

Of the matter which you speak of I do assure you there passeth not so much as any bruit by mine ears; and therefore in mine opinion the vacation may happily pass over before the places be altered; but thereof I can only speak conjecturally; and therefore do I think that as time may do you good, so loss of occasion may do you much harm. And therefore for your coming or not coming, this is my conceit,—that if either by your own presence or by other mediation your way be not made so as that the veil now covering you may be uncovered, though it do but ....[2] you, according to the slender proportion of her Majesty's mislike, whereof you have given so small cause, that surely it will be still a stumble for any man that shall thrust resolutely to deal for that preferment, which being a thing second in honour will be second *ordine*, and therefore the first must be gained to open the way for the second. In conclusion, I thus write because you seem to care for my advice, which with my best means and poorest wit likewise shall be at your commandment to do you any pleasure; assuring [you] that you must press the Earl for it, who hath both true love towards you and the truest and greatest means to win it of her Majesty. From the Court, this 7th of May, 1593.

Your loving cousin and friend,

ROB: CYCELL.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 37. Copy, in the hand of one of Anthony Bacon's servants.
[2] I cannot make out these words.

12.

That zealous friend needed no pressing, but rather the contrary. As early as the 16th of April, Anthony Bacon writes to his mother, "The Earl of Essex hath been twice very earnest with her Majesty touching my brother; whose speech being well grounded and directed to good ends, as it cannot be denied but it was, I doubt not that God in his mercy will in time make it an occasion of her Majesty's better opinion and liking."[1] And so earnestly did the Earl continue his mediation, that by the beginning of June the stumbling-block seemed to be removed. Of the particulars and progress of the negotiation no account has been preserved; but there are two letters of Bacon's, both unluckily without date, and one without the name of the person to whom it was addressed, which may be referred to this period more probably I think than to any other. Essex would naturally inform Bacon of the progress of his suit and the state of the Queen's feelings; and this would naturally supply Bacon with an occasion to write, since he could not speak, for himself; an occasion which he would be the more apt to take, if he felt, as he could hardly help doing, that Essex was likely to urge the matter on both too fast and too far. He would naturally wish to state for himself, first, the true ground on which he claimed pardon for his speech, and secondly, the true nature and extent of the favour for which he presumed to ask. The one he did in a letter which, though it has always been printed as a letter to the Lord Keeper Puckering, I rather believe to have been addressed to Essex; the other in a letter to the Queen herself.

A copy of the first lies by itself in the middle of a volume of the Harleian MSS.; without address, heading, date, signature, or indorsement; but it explains and fathers itself.[2] And it will be seen that the remarks which I just now made upon the letter to Burghley, written upon the first intimation of the Queen's displeasure, are equally applicable to this; in which though the expression of *regret* is stronger (time having shown how deep the displeasure had sunk in her mind, and how little satisfactory his excuse had been), yet the substance of his plea is precisely the same; nor is there any approach to an acknowledgment that he is sorry for having *made* the speech; he is still only sorry that she should take it in bad part.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 68.

[2] It is entered in the catalogue as, "Copie of a letter to the Lord Keeper Puckering? concerning the writer's speech in Parliament, which had disgusted the Queen." Birch saw that the writer was Bacon, and adopted the guess of the catalogue-maker as to the person addressed, but omitted the note of interrogation.

My Lord,[1]

It is a great grief unto me, joined with marvel, that her Majesty should retain an hard conceit of my speeches in parliament. It mought please her sacred Majesty to think what my end should be in those speeches, if it were not duty, and duty alone. I am not so simple but I know the common beaten way to please. And whereas popularity hath been objected, I muse what care I should take to please many, that taketh a course of life to deal with few. On the other side, her Majesty's grace and particular favour towards me hath been such, as I esteem no worldly thing above the comfort to enjoy it, except it be the conscience to deserve it. But if the not seconding of some particular person's opinion shall be presumption, and to differ upon the manner shall be to impeach the end, it shall teach my devotion not to exceed wishes, and those in silence. Yet notwithstanding (to speak vainly as in grief) it may be her Majesty hath discouraged as good a heart as ever looked towards her service, and as void of self-love. And so in more grief than I can well express, and much more than I can well dissemble, I leave your Lordship, being as ever,

Your Lordship's entirely devoted.

A copy of the letter to the Queen is preserved among Anthony Bacon's papers, and needs no comment. It is docketed "Copie que Mons^{r} François Bacon a escrivit à sa Ma^{te}, 1593." But the date does not appear to have been written at the same time as the rest.

TO THE QUEEN.[2]

Madam,

Remembering that your Majesty had been gracious to me both in countenancing me and conferring upon me the reversion of a good place, and perceiving your Majesty had taken some displeasure towards me, both these were arguments to move me to offer unto your Majesty my service, to the end to have means to deserve your benefit and to repair my error. Upon this ground I affected myself to no great matter, but only a place of

[1] Harl. MSS. 286. 232. Fair copy, in the hand, I think, of Edward Yates, a servant of Anthony Bacon's.
[2] Lambeth MSS. 649. 315.

my profession, such as I do see divers younger in proceeding to myself, and men of no great note, do without blame aspire unto. But if any of my friends do press this matter,[1] I do assure your Majesty my spirit is not with them. It sufficeth me that I have let your Majesty know that I am ready to do that for your service which I never would do for mine own gain. And if your Majesty like others better, I shall with the Lacedemonian[2] be glad that there is such choice of abler men than myself. Your Majesty's favour indeed, and access to your royal person, I did ever, encouraged by your own speeches, seek and desire; and I would be very glad to be reintegrate in that. But I will not wrong mine own good mind so much as to stand upon it now, when your Majesty may conceive I do it but to make my profit of it. But my mind turneth upon other wheels than those of profit. The conclusion shall be that I wish your Majesty served answerable to yourself. *Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.* Thus I most humbly crave pardon of my boldness and plainness. God preserve your Majesty.

The appeal seems not to have been without effect. On the 2nd of June, Bacon went to Twickenham for the vacation, having just received intelligence from Essex that the Queen was at length "thoroughly appeased, and that she stood only upon the exception of his years for his present preferment. But I doubt not, saith my Lord, that I shall overcome that difficulty very soon, and that her Majesty will show it by good effects."[3] News which, if true, was as favourable as he could have expected, and might fairly serve him for encouragement during the rest of the summer. For the long vacation,—the season of progresses and general dispersion,—was now near; and if the question were not decided during the next fortnight, it was likely to stand over till September. Such delay was a ground for anxiety but not for discouragement; for the Queen did not know, probably, how ill Bacon's case could bear the uncertainty, and how nearly it concerned him to have the question one way or another settled.

[1] The words "more than as a simple nomination" follow in the MS., with a line drawn through them.

[2] *Lacedemonians* in MS.

[3] Anthony Bacon to his mother, 2nd June, 1593. Lambeth MSS. 649. 123.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1593. ÆTAT. 33.

1.

HAD the question been settled once for all, it would have mattered little perhaps which way. With a view to the great purposes of Bacon's life either fortune would have had its special advantages and its special disadvantages. Much worse than either was the suspense which, making it doubtful which road he ought to take, postponed all decided action at a time when sudden resolution was especially necessary. To have given up politics and business at once and sequestered himself to philosophy, would have answered very well; though, considering the growing importance of civil questions and the advantageous position in which he stood by reason of his reputation and influence in the House of Commons, the sacrifice would have been considerable. But he would have had a worthy vocation, and means sufficient (after paying his debts) for the comparatively inexpensive life of a private student. To have been advanced at once to office with its ordinary emoluments would have answered, all things considered, still better. The income would have enabled him to bear the expenses of public life. The duties of his place would have given him work worthy of his powers and for which they were eminently suited, and yet left him leisure for other studies. And the loss of time would have been in great part made up by the influence and authority incident to an eminent position,—the commandment (to use his own words) of more wits than his own. But to be kept spending much and earning nothing, tempted on by hopes continually renewed and never realized, while creditors were growing impatient, and debts increasing, for the satisfaction of which it *seemed* only necessary to have patience till the next term,—what was this but practice in the fatal art of sleeping on a debtor's pillow? Let Bacon be blamed, not for his anxiety to be relieved from this condition of dangerous uncertainty, but for not putting an end to it at once, at whatever sacrifice. And yet in what particular week or month or quarter he could have taken such a step without appearing

to be deliberately throwing away his fairest chance of obtaining that which, on his country's account scarcely less than his own, he had most reason to desire, it is not by any means easy to say. For it would almost seem that this was the condition in which the Queen *wished* to keep him; not knowing probably how dangerous such a condition was for him, as his affairs then stood. To understand how great an injury she was thereby doing him, we must look into the letters which were passing at the time between his mother and his brother.

2.

It seems that he had borrowed a considerable sum of money from a Mr. Harvey,[1] which he proposed to pay off by the sale of an estate called Markes. This estate had been left to him, but could not be sold without the consent of his mother,—who was entitled, I suppose, as dowager, to a third of the annual proceeds. On the 16th of April, 1593, a letter of anxious inquiry from Lady Bacon to Anthony,—"for the state of want of health and of money and some other things (she said) touching you both οὐκ ἐᾶ με εὖδειν,"[2]—was crossed on the road by the following letter from Anthony to her:[3]—

"My duty most humbly remembered, I assure myself that your Ladyship, as a wise and kind mother to us both, will neither find it strange nor amiss, which, tendering first my brother's health, which I know by mine own experience to depend not a little upon a free mind, and then his credit, I presume to put your Ladyship in remembrance of your motherly offer to him the same day you departed: which was that to help him out of debt you would be content to bestow the whole interest in Marks upon him; the which unless it would please your Ladyship to accomplish out of hand, I have just cause to fear that my brother will be put to a very shrewd plunge, either to forfeit his reversion[4] to Harvie, or else to undersell it very much; for the avoiding of both which great inconveniences I see no other remedy than your Ladyship's surrender in time, the formal draft whereof I refer to my brother himself, whom I have not any way as yet made acquainted with this my motion, neither mean to do till I hear from you; the ground whereof being only a brotherly care and affection, I hope your Ladyship will think and accept of it accordingly; beseeching you to believe that being so near and dear unto me as he is, it cannot but be a grief unto me to see a mind that hath given so sufficient proof of itself in having

[1] See letter from Harvey to A. B., 24th February, 1592-3, Lambeth MSS., 648. 94. "The fortnight wherein you willed me to send unto you for the money due unto me (by your brother), on the last of January, being now fully expired, I am bold," etc. The sum is £32. 10*s*.; probably the half-year's interest.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 649. 65. [3] Lambeth MSS. 649. 67.

[4] Meaning the reversion of the Clerkship of the Star Chamber.

brought forth many good thoughts for the general, to be overburdened and cumbered with a care of clearing his particular estate.

"Touching myself," etc.

To this proposition Lady Bacon, being strongly possessed with a notion that both her sons were preyed upon by unfaithful servants, was not ready to agree, except upon a condition which, for an expectant Attorney-General, was certainly rather hard of digestion.

"For your brotherly care of your brother Francis's state (she replied[1]) you are to be well liked, and so I do as a Christian mother that loveth you both as the children of God: but as I wrote but in few words yesterday by my neighbour, the state of you both doth much disquiet me, as in Greek words I signified shortly."

After reminding him of something which she had said to them lately about her will and the disposal of her goods, she proceeds:—

"I have been too ready for you both till nothing is left. And surely though I pity your brother, yet so long as he pitieth not himself but keepeth that bloody Percy,[2] as I told him then, yea as a coach companion and bed companion,—a proud profane costly fellow, whose being about him I verily fear the Lord God doth mislike and doth less bless your brother in credit and otherwise in his health,—surely I am utterly discouraged and make a conscience further to undo myself to maintain such wretches as he is. That Jones (?) never loved your brother indeed, but for his own credit, living upon your brother, and thankless though bragging. But your brother will be blind to his own hurt. . . . The Lord in his mercy remove them from him and evil from you both, and give you a sound judgment and understanding to order yourselves in all things to please God in true knowledge and in his true fear unfeigned, and to hearken to his word which only maketh wise indeed. Besides, your brother told me before you twice then that he intended not to part with Markes, and the rather because Mr. Mylls would lend him nine hundred pounds; and as I remember I asked him how he would come out of debt. His answer was that means would be made without that. . . . It is most certain till first Enney (?), a filthy wasteful knave, and his Welshmen one after another—for take [one] and they will still swarm ill-favouredly—did so lead him as in a train, he was a towardly young gentleman and a son of much good hope in godliness. But seeing he hath nourished most sinful proud villains wilfully, I know not what other answer to make. God bless you both with his grace and good health to serve him with truth of heart.

"Gorhāb. 17 Apr.

"A. BACON."

[1] 17th April. Lambeth MSS. 653. 175. Original: own hand.

[2] Birch read the name Perez; taking it for Antonio Perez, the Spanish refugee. But he supposed this letter to be of later date. One of Francis Bacon's servants was called Henry Percy.

Then follows on the other leaf of the same sheet her definite answer in the following words:—

"If your brother desire a release to Mr. Harvey, let him so require it himself, and but upon this condition by his own hand and bond I will not; that is, that he make and give me a true note of all his debts, and leave to me the whole order and receipt of all his money for his land, to Harvey, and the just payment of all his debts thereby. And by the mercy and grace of God it shall be performed by me to his quiet discharge without cumbering him and to his credit. For I will not have his cormorant seducers and instruments of Satan to him committing foul sin by his countenance, to the displeasing of God and his godly true fear. Otherwise I will not *pro certo*.

"A. B."

Now though Lady Bacon may have had some reason for thinking that Francis was an over-trustful and over-indulgent master,—and later experience showed that this was really one of his principal weaknesses,—it does not follow that she was herself very fit to be his stewardess; for if he had too little suspicion of those about him, she most certainly had too much; which in most human dealings is as bad a fault. And at any rate, even if she had been the best woman of business in the world, an arrangement which implied that he was not fit to manage his own affairs would at that time, when he was aspiring to be the Queen's Attorney, have had an awkward appearance. His reply is lost; but the general effect of it may be gathered from his mother's remarks in a letter sent to Anthony the next morning (April 18th[1]) which, being very characteristic and interesting from the sudden relapse into tenderness which follows the first discharge of passion, I shall give at length.

"I received somewhat late yesterday all sent by the Glover. All the notes savour of discontents mixed. God turn all to the best. Your continuance in debt still I fear still. Often and divers surveys, and no good effect procured. I doubt the bargain; but look you if troubles threaten, purchasers will be low, more .....[2]

"I send herein your brother's letter. Construe the interpretation. I do not understand his enigmatical folded writing. Oh that by not hearkening to wholesome and careful good counsel, and by continuing still the means of his own great hindrance, he had not procured his own early discredit; but had joined with God that hath bestowed on him good gifts of natural wit and understanding. But the same good God that hath given them to him will I trust and heartily pray to sanctify his heart by the right use of them to glorify the Giver of them to his own inward comfort. The scope of my so called by him circumstance, which I am sure he must

[1] Lambeth MSS. 653. 165. Original: own hand.
[2] I cannot make out these words.

understand, was not to use him as a ward,—a remote phrase to my plain motherly meaning,—and yet, I thank the Lord and the hearing of his word preached, not void of judgment and conceiving. My plain proposition was and is to do him good. But seeing so manifestly that he is robbed and spoiled wittingly by his base exalted (?) men, which with Welsh wiles prey upon him, and yet bear him in hand they have other maintenance, because their bold natures will not acknowledge, I did desire only to receive the money to discharge his debts indeed; and dare not trust such his riotous men with the dealing withal. I am sure no preacher, nor lawyer, nor friend, would have misliked this my doing for his good and my better satisfying."

So far she is carried on in wrath; then comes the relenting:—

"He perceives my good meaning by this, and before too. But Percie had winded him. God bless my son. What he would have me do and when for his own good, as I now write, let him return plain answer by Fynch. He was his father's first choice[1] (?), and God will supply if he will trust in him and call upon [him] in truth of heart; which God grant to mother and sons.

"I send the first flight of my doves to you both, and God bless you in Christ.

"A. B."

What was further done in the matter I do not know; but as I find on the 6th of September an arrangement spoken of for "the redeeming of Markes out of Mr. Harvey's hands,"[2] I conclude that Lady Bacon consented to what was necessary.

3.

There follows in the Lambeth papers a great deal of correspondence, in which Francis Bacon took part, concerning the sale of *Barly*, an estate of Anthony's, to Alderman Spencer. The estate was entailed; the Alderman was a sharp bargainer; Sir Nicholas Bacon, the eldest of the half-brothers, being a "remainder-man" and required therefore to join in the bargain and sale, was difficult and suspicious; Anthony was hard pressed for money; the lawyers were subtle, and the law complicated. Here are materials enough for a dispute, which it would take long to explain, and upon the merits of which it would be impossible probably, for want of completer information, to adjudicate. What I have said will enable unprofessional readers to understand as much as they will care to understand of the

[1] The word is written so close to the edge of the paper that I cannot make it out. It looks like *chis*.

[2] A. B. to Lady B., Lambeth MSS. 649. 210.

letters relating to it; and if anything of more special interest to a professional eye be hidden in them, I must leave it to professional skill to discover and elucidate. The negotiation was continued till the end of November, and does not appear to have been concluded even then. But as it is a bye-matter which comes in rather as an interruption to the main business of Francis Bacon's life than as a part of it, I have thought it better to collect all the letters belonging to it, and insert them here together; which being removed, the rest of the correspondence will proceed more continuously.

The first is the draft of a letter which Francis wished his brother to write to Sir Nicholas.[1] A copy of the letter actually written is to be seen in the same volume.[2] The differences are very slight, and only in words. But I give Francis's draft, which is written all in his own hand; and docketed by one of Anthony's men, "Copie de Monsr. François, frère de Monsieur, 1593."

Draft of a Letter from Anthony Bacon to his Brother Sir Nicholas.

My very good brother,

I have concluded with Alderman Spencer for my land in Barly, who after the manner of purchasers demandeth fine and recovery to his liking; which because they cannot pass out of Term, he is content nevertheless, if you who are last in remainder shall join with my brother and me in the sale, to rest upon that assurance for the payment, and to pay me now in August the whole sum agreed between us. And because it concerneth me to keep credit with such to whom I owe money, and [I] would be loath to trouble any friend anew for my payments, and that it may be doubted in regard of the sickness whether there will be any Michaelmas Term, and my days draw on, I am earnestly to desire you, since it is much pleasure to me and no prejudice to yourself, that you would join with us only in the bargain and sale, and not in any covenant. Thus with both our commendations to yourself and my good sister, and my thanks for the buck, which upon my letter you bestowed upon this gentleman, who saith it was of the best, I leave,

Your very loving brother.

Twicknam Park,
this 28th of July, 1593.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 146.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 649. 143.

The next letter is from Francis himself to Mr. Trott, a gentleman of Gray's Inn, who had been employed to communicate with Alderman Spencer on behalf of the Bacons. The letter to which it is an answer is preserved among the Lambeth papers (649. 161), and reports certain points upon which the Alderman insisted for his better security. Francis's consent was necessary as being second in remainder.

To MR. TROTT.

Mr. Trott,[1]

It may appear that I never assented to the general warrantis by this, that in the end of the book of the deed of feoffment I entered a memorandum that it should be altered according to the indenture. For the defeasance, I perceive that my meaning was not understood; for my meaning was agreeable to all reason, that I should not join in any statute at all; forasmuch as by a recovery all my encumbrances are in law avoided. And it was not so much the violation of the statute that I feared, as I disliked that so great a sum should appear of record to be upon my estate.

I have accordingly reformed it, and on my brother's behalf I have added in the end of the defeasance a disjunctive of satisfaction to be made, without the which it is indeed, as you write, wild and ticklish. The book for my brother Bacon,[2] though I have not reformed, yet I doubt he will check at it, if the grant of the things by name be not altered into all his right and interest in them.

I send you Sir Thomas Gerrard's letter, pregnant with my letters to the purpose we agreed. Thus I wish you as my very good friend, resting

Your very assured,

FR. BACON.

You shall not need to take care for the coming of our venison, because I have written it should be sent to Mr. Mencks who would send it to me. But if difficulty be made, then stand you to your promise.

This was followed a few days after by a letter to Alderman Spencer himself, relating to the same point.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 185. Copy: Docketed "22nd August, 1593."
[2] Sir Nicholas.

To Alderman John Spencer.[1]

Mr. Alderman Spencer,

Though I be ready to yield to anything for my brother's sake, so yet he will not I know expect, no nor permit me, that I should do myself wrong. For me that touch no money to have a continual statute hanging upon my estate of that greatness, were a thing utterly unreasonable, and not to be moved, specially since your assurance is as good without. There is much land bought and sold in England, and more entailed than fee-simple; but for a remainder-man[2] to join in seal,[3] I think was never put in practice. Marry for a time, till your assurance may pass, so it pass with convenient speed, because of the uncertainty of life, I am content to enter into one; looking nevertheless for some present of gratification for my very joining in conveyance, and much more having yielded to this. For any warranty or charter, I had had neither law nor wit if I would have meant it; and the reforming of the covenant and the deed of feoffment doth sufficiently witness my intention. Thus bid I you heartily farewell.

Your very loving friend,

Fr. Bacon.

Twickenham Park,
this 26th of August, 1593.

When these matters were adjusted with the Alderman, it remained for Sir Nicholas to do his part. But he appears to have made so many difficulties that Anthony was obliged to wait for Michaelmas Term and finish the business without him. Hence three months more had to pass before the bargain could be concluded, and it seems that even then there were some unsettled questions to be arranged. The letter that follows is the last of Francis Bacon's which relates to it. It is a copy in the hand, I think, of Edward Yates, and docketed "Lettre de Mons. François Bacon à Mons. l'Alderman Spencer le 22me de Novembre, 1593."[4]

To Alderman Spencer.

Mr. Alderman Spencer,

Your presence was very requisite at the conclusion of the assurance; the rather because we have dealt with you not strictly

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 186. Copy: in the hand of Anthony Bacon's amanuensis.
[2] *more*: MS. [3] *state*: MS. [4] Lambeth MSS. 649. 282.

nor curiously, but upon good meaning; which now in the latter end would be set down in some remembrance or bill, and not left wholly to memory. And therefore accordingly we have sent you a memorandum of certain points, which as they were ever meant, so would now be expressed under your hand; heartily praying you therefore, if you will not be here yourself, you would authorize Mr. Altham in these points of meaning to use his discretion, referring it to him by your letter. But I may not herewithal forget to let you understand of a mistaking of your servant's, who seemed to take knowledge of your mind to be that you would not accomplish the payment behind upon the recovery suffered and the statute acknowledged without my brother Bacon's release; contrary to all agreement and your own sealed bill: which I will not do you the wrong to believe, desiring you nevertheless to deny it by your letter. We for our parts are ready, upon advertisement from you, to proceed; and so I wish you very well.

Your loving friend.

Gorhambury, this 20th of 9^{bre}, 1593.

4.

These private cares, however importunate, formed but a small part of the occupations which made this vacation a busy one for both the Bacons. The Earl of Essex had just been made a Privy Councillor, and plunged with characteristic ardour into the business belonging to his new dignity. The times, by the alarms and anxieties which they bred, gave an impulse and a value to his activity. Both in France and Scotland, Spanish intrigue joined with internal faction was so powerful, that the cause of Protestantism had rarely seemed in greater jeopardy than in this summer of 1593; while the King of Scots on the one side was tossed helplessly this way and that between the contending parties, and the King of France on the other was driven, as the only apparent means of securing his crown, settling his kingdom, and saving the Protestant cause from utter overthrow, to the deplorable alternative of publicly renouncing the faith for which he had so long fought, and conforming outwardly to a church to which he scarcely pretended to be a real convert. In both these countries Essex had correspondents, in his intercourse with whom Anthony Bacon appears to have served him in a capacity very like that of a modern under-secretary of state; receiving all letters, which were mostly in cipher, in the first instance; forwarding them

(generally through his brother Francis's hands) to the Earl, deciphered and accompanied with their joint suggestions; and finally, according to the instructions thereupon returned framing and dispatching the answers.[1] The three thus acting together formed a kind of small Foreign Office, the business of which seems to have grown so rapidly in extent, importance, and credit with the Queen, that before the end of the year "all matters of intelligence" were reported to be "wholly in the Earl's hands."[2]

There is evidence enough to show that Francis, who attended the Court during the greater part of this summer, was constantly consulted in all these matters, and in frequent communication with the Earl. But he had not yet begun to keep his letters, and none of them have been preserved. Of the *kind* of services however in which he was employed, the following letter, addressed to him by Essex about this time, and remaining among his brother's papers, may serve as an illustration.

Mr. Bacon,[3]

The Queen hath sent for me in such kindness this morning as I must not refuse to go on to her. I hear not of Mr. Phillips. I will acquaint you with my business, that you upon conference with him may do that which myself would have done. The Queen did require of me a draft of an Instruction for matter of intelligence, seeming willing now she hath sworn me one of her Council[4] to use my service that way. I persuade myself she doth it rather to try my judgment in it than for any present necessity for direction of any man that is to go. The places are Rheims and Rome. Mr. Phillips hath known Mr. Secretary's courses in such matters; so as I may have counsel from you and precedents from him. I pray you, as your leisure will serve, send me your conceipt as soon as you can; for I know not how soon I shall be called on. I will draw some notes of mine own which I will reform and enlarge by yours. In haste, this Friday morning.

Your most assured friend,

Essex.

Two letters of Bacon's own, in which I cannot find anything to fix the date, refer either to this or to some similar occasion, and

[1] See Lambeth MSS. 649, pp. 119, 120, 169, 202, 204, 205, 206, 226, 228, 273. Also Birch's Memoirs, *passim*.

[2] A. Standen to A. Bacon, 20th December, 1593. Birch, i. 144. We must beware however of inferring too much from this expression. The matters of intelligence which were then wholly in the Earl's hands related, I think, chiefly to the Lopez conspiracy, of which an account will be given in the next chapter.

[3] Lambeth MSS. 653. 2. Original: own hand. Addressed, "To my assured good friend, Mr. Fra. Bacon."

[4] "The Earl of Essex was lately sworn of the Council." Letter from A. B. to Standen, undated, but written after the 7th of March, 1592-3, and during the Parliament. Birch, i. 93. Captain Devereux says he was sworn in on the 25th of February. See Lives of the Earl of Essex, i. 382.

therefore I insert them here. The first is addressed to Mr. Thomas Phillips, the same gentleman, no doubt, to whom Essex alludes; and who had been employed by "Mr. Secretary" (that is, Walsingham), as a decipherer of intercepted letters; in which capacity he now served the Earl.[1]

Mr. Ph.[2]

I send you the copy of my letter to the Earl touching the matter between us proposed. You may perceive what expectation and conceit I thought good imprint into my Lord both of yourself and of this particular service. And as that which is in general touching yourself I know you are very able to make good; so in this beginning of intelligence I pray spare no care to conduct the matter to sort to good effect. The more plainly and frankly you shall deal with my Lord, not only in disclosing particulars, but in giving him *caveats* and admonishing him of any error which in this action he may commit, (such is his Lordship's nature) the better he will take it. I send you also his letter which appointeth this afternoon for your repair to him; which I pray, if you can, perform; although if you are not fully resolved of any circumstance, you may take a second day for the rest and show his Lordship the party's letter. If your business suffer you not to attend his Lordship to-day, then excuse it by two or three words in writing to his Lordship, and offer another time.

In haste.

Yours ever assured,

FR. BACON.

Whereas I mentioned in my letter an intelligence standing[3] in Spain of my brother's, I pray take no knowledge at all thereof.

[1] "At this very instant Mr. Lawson arrived from the Earl, who had sent for him expressly from Twicknam, with letters from Dr. Morison, and most earnest request to return them deciphered with all speed possible; *which Phillips could not dispatch before to-morrow*," etc. A. B. to F. B., 15th November, 1593. Lambeth MSS. 649. 273.

[2] S. P. O.: Domestic, 1591 (September to the end of the year). This date has been assigned by the arranger of the bundles; I do not see on what ground. It is the original letter, all in Bacon's own hand; addressed "To the r. wor[ll] my verye lovinge freind, M[r] Thom[s] Phillips;" but the fly-leaf has been torn off, and there is neither date nor docket.

[3] I am not sure as to this word. Perhaps it should be read *Standyne*; meaning Anthony Standen, one of A. B.'s correspondents, who was at San Sebastian on the 30th April, 1593 (Birch, i. 98), and whose intelligence he was in the habit of forwarding to *Burghley*, from whom he hoped to obtain employment for him on his return to England. This may have been the reason why nothing was to be said about him to Essex; there being great jealousy between the two in the matter of foreign intelligence.

The other letter is addressed to the Earl himself, and comes from the supplement to the collection in the 'Resuscitatio.' I have not met with anything which suggests any probable explanation of the circumstances to which it refers, or which enables me to guess the date. I only place it here because I suppose the "Mr. Philip" spoken of to be the same Thomas Phillips to whom the last letter was addressed, and we know that the three were at this time in communication with each other.

To my Lord of Essex.[1]

My singular good Lord,

The message it pleased your Lordship to send me, was to me delivered doubtfully: Whether your Lordship said you would speak with me at the Star Chamber, or with Mr. Philip. If with me, it is needless; for gratitude imposeth upon me satisfaction. If with Mr. Philip, it will be too late; because somewhat must perchance be done that day. This doubt not solved maketh me write again; the rather because I did liberally, but yet privately, affirm your Lordship would write; which if I make not good, it may be a discouragement. Your Lordship's letter, though it have the subject of honour and justice, yet it shall have the secrecy of a thing done upon affection. I shall ever in a firm duty submit my occasions, though great, to your Lordship's respects, though small; and this is my resolution, that when your Lordship doth for me, you shall increase my obligation; when you refuse to do for me, you shall increase my merit. So leaving the matter wholly to your Lordship's pleasure, I commend your Lordship to the preservation of the divine Majesty. From Gray's Inn.

Your Lordship's ever most humbly bounden.

5.

Meantime the Earl of Essex was on his part doing everything which zeal and assiduity could do to make good the expectations which he had held out to Bacon; and that with an appearance of success which was in fact unfortunate; for it inflamed a self-confidence of which he had naturally too much, kindled in him a pride in the consciousness and display of court-influence and an ambition to overbear court-rivals, and betrayed him into a misapprehension of the

[1] Rawley's 'Resuscitatio,' Supplement, p. 113.

real tenure of his power over the Queen. Elizabeth admired his enthusiasm, liked to see and hear him pleading for his friend with an ardour which became him so well, and her pleasure and patience in hearing him sue flattered him into the belief that he was prevailing. He had yet to learn that she could be well pleased in listening to suits which she had no intention of granting. In the beginning of the long vacation, when the time of decision was yet far off, she appears to have been very encouraging. "Our most honourable and kind friend the Earl of Essex"—so Anthony writes to his mother from Twickenham on the 18th of July[1]—"was here yesterday three hours, and hath most friendly and freely promised to set up, as they say, his whole rest of favour and credit for my brother's preferment before Mr. Cooke, whensoever the now Attorney shall be removed to the place of the Rolls. His Lordship told me likewise that he had already moved the Queen for my brother, and that she took no exceptions to him, but said that she must first dispatch the French and Scotch Ambassadors and her business abroad, before she think of such home matters." But as the time of decision drew near, her former exceptions revived, and her old offence at the speech in Parliament, which two months before Essex had supposed to be "thoroughly appeased," was found to be as much in the way as ever. The effect cannot be described so well as in the words of the Earl's own letter to Francis, written on the 24th of August.[2]

Sir,

I spake with the Queen yesterday and on Wednesday. On Wednesday she cut me off short; she being come newly home and making haste to her supper. Yesterday I had a full audience, but with little better success than before. The points I pressed were an absolute *ἀμνηστία*, and an access as in former times. Against the first she pleaded that you were in more fault than any of the rest in Parliament; and when she did forgive it and manifest her receiving of them into favour that offended her then, she will do it to many that were less in fault as well as to yourself. Your access, she saith, is as much as you can look for. If it had been in the King her father's time, a less offence than that would have made a man be banished his presence for ever. But you did come to the Court when you would yourself; and she should precipitate too much from being highly displeased with you to give you near access, such as she shows only to those that she favours extraordinarily. I told her that I sought for you was not so much your good, though it were a thing I would seek extremely and

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 145.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 649. 165. Copy by A. Bacon's amanuensis. Docketed "Lettre de Mons^r Le Compte D'Essex a Mons^r Francois Bacon, le 23^me d'Aoust, 1593;" but as it seems by the first sentence to have been written on a Friday, and the 23rd was a Thursday, it should probably have been dated the 24th.

please myself in obtaining, as for her honour, that those excellent translations of hers[1] might be known to them who could best judge of them. Besides, my desire was that you should neither be stranger to her person nor to her service; the one for your own satisfaction, the other for her Majesty's own sake, who if she did not employ you should lose the use of the ablest gentleman to do her service of any of your quality whatsoever. Her humour is yet to delay. I am now going to her again: and what I cannot effect at once I will look to do *sæpe cadendo*. Excuse my ill writing. I write in haste and have my chamber full of company that break my head with talking. I commend myself to your brother and to yourself, and rest your assured friend,

ESSEX.

And what was Burghley doing all this time? To the application made to him through his sons in April, his answer, if he gave any, has not been preserved. But on the 29th of August, Lady Bacon received from him the following letter:—

Good Madam,[2]

I thank you for your kind letter; and for your sons, I think your care of them is no less than they both deserve, being so qualified in learning and virtue as if they had a supply of more health they wanted nothing. But none are, or very few, *ab omni parte beati;* for such are not elect, but subject to tentations from the highway to heaven. For my goodwill to them, though I am of less power to do my friends good than the world thinketh, yet they shall not want the intention to do them good. And so God continue you in his favour by your meditations, and that I as your old friend may be partaker of your good wishes and prayers.

From my house at Theobald's, the 29th of August, 1593.

Your Ladyship's loving brother-in-law,

W. BURGHLEY.

If I am right in supposing that from the beginning Burghley thought the suit for the *Attorneyship* unlikely to succeed, and therefore injudicious, this is just such a letter as might have been expected. He did not wish to cross the suit; to encourage it would have been to flatter with false hopes. I see no reason whatever to doubt the sincerity of his profession of goodwill; and if he was prepared to recommend Bacon for Solicitor when Coke should be made Attorney (which the event showed would have been the wiser course), no one can say that he belied it.

[1] Alluding perhaps to some translations from Boetius, 'De Consolatione,' with which she is said to have consoled herself after the news of the French king's apostasy.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 649. 180. Copy.

5.

Towards the end of September, when it was likely that something would be resolved on, the canvass grew more eager on both sides. But the following letters, some relating to this suit and some to other things, tell their own story clearly enough, and may follow in their order without comment.

FRANCIS BACON TO THE LORD KEEPER PUCKERING.[1]

My very good Lord,

I received a letter from a very friend of mine, requesting me to move your Lordship to put into the commission for the subsidy Mr. Richard Kemp,[2] a Reader of Gray's Inn and besides born to good estate, being also my friend and familiar acquaintance. And because I conceive the gentleman to be every way sortable with the service, I am bold to commend him to your Lordship's good favour. And even so, with remembrance of my most humble duty, I rest,

Your Lordship's affectionate to do you humble service,

FR. BACON.

Twicknam Park, July 3, 1593.

FRANCIS BACON TO MICHAEL HICKS.[3]

Mr. Hicks, still I hold opinion that a good solicitor is as good as a good counsellor. I pray you, as you have begun, so continue to put Sir Robert Cecil in mind. I write now because I understand by occasion of Mr. Solicitor's being at the Court things are like to be deliberated if not resolved. I pray learn what you can both by your nearness to my Lord and by speech with Sir Robert, and write what you find. Thus in haste I wish you right well; from Gorhambury[4] this 26th of September, 1593.

Your friend assured,

FR. BACON.

I pray send me word what is your day of payment, and

[1] Harl. MSS. 6997. 56. Original: own hand.

[2] Richard Kemp, admitted 1556, barrister 1558, ancient 1569, reader 1578.—Gray's Inn Register. Harl. MSS. 1912. fo. 178 b.

[3] Lansdowne MSS. 75. 56. Original: own hand. Written in great hurry. Addressed, "To my very loving friend, Mr. Michael Hickes, Secretary to the Lord High Treasurer."

[4] He had gone to Gorhambury a few days before, to be with his mother, who was suffering from a quartan ague. See Lambeth MSS. 649. 194, 203.

whether you can be certain to renew, because my brother's land is not yet sold.

Sir Robert Cecil to Francis Bacon.[1]

Cousin,

Assure yourself that the Solicitor's coming gave no cause of speech, for it was concerning a book to be drawn for the bargain of wines. If there had been you should have known, or when there shall. To satisfy your request of making my Lord know how recommended your desires are to me, I have spoken with his Lordship, who answereth, he hath done and will do his best. I think your absence (longer than for my good aunt's comfort)[2] will do you no good: for, as I ever told you, it is not likely to find the Queen apt to give you an office, when the scruple is not removed of her forbearance to speak with you. This being not yet perfected may stop good when the hour comes of conclusion, though it be but a trifle, and questionless would be straight dispatched, if it were luckily handled. But herein do I, out of my desire to satisfy you, use this my opinion, leaving you to your own better knowledge what hath been done for you,[3] or in what terms that matter standeth. And thus, desirous to be recommended to my good aunt, to whom my wife heartily commends her, I leave you to the protection of Almighty God. From the Court, at Windsor, this 27th of September, 1593.

Your loving cousin and friend,

Robert Cecil.

I have heard in these causes, *Facies hominis est tanquam leonis.*

Lord Treasurer Burghley to Francis Bacon.[4]

Nephew,

I have no leisure to write much; but for answer I have attempted to place you, but her Majesty hath required the Lord Keeper[5] to give to her the names of divers lawyers to be preferred, wherewith he made me acquainted, and I did name you as a meet man; whom his Lordship allowed in way of friendship, for your father's sake: but he made scruple to equal you with certain whom he named, as Brograve and Branthwayt, whom he specially commendeth. But I will continue the remembrance of you to her Majesty, and implore my Lord of Essex help.

Your loving uncle,

27 Sept., 1593. W. Burghley.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 197. Copy.
[2] Lady Bacon was ill at Gorhambury, and Francis with her.
[3] *i.e.* by the Earl of Essex.
[4] Lambeth MSS. 649. 197. Copy: addressed, "To my very loving nephew, M^r^ Francis Bacon."
[5] It seems that Francis had written to the Lord Keeper, whose answer was conveyed in the following letter from his secretary, Morgan Coleman, to Anthony:— "Sir, Presently I delivered the letter to his Lordship, whose answer to me was,

THE EARL OF ESSEX TO FRANCIS BACON.[1]

Mr. Bacon,

Your letter met me here yesterday. When I came I found the Queen so wayward as I thought it no fit time to deal with her in any suit, especially since her choler grew towards myself, which I have well satisfied this day, and will take the first opportunity I can to move your suit; and if you come hither, I pray you let me know still where you are; and so being full of business I must end, wishing you what you wish to yourself.

Your most assured friend,

ESSEX.

THE EARL OF ESSEX TO ANTHONY BACON.[2]

Mr. Bacon,

I have broken promise by necessity and not for negligence. I spake largely with the Queen on Saturday in the evening, and forced myself to get up this morning, because the Queen on Saturday told me that she would resolve this day. But ere I could get from the Queen to my chamber, pain had so possessed my head and stomach, as I was sent to my bed, where I have remained ever since. On Saturday the Queen kindly accepted your promise to come to her, and as she said herself, sorrowed for your sickness which arrested you by the way. She used many words which showed her opinion of your worth and desire to know you better. She was content to hear me plead at large for your brother, but condemned my judgment in thinking him fittest to be Attorney whom his own Uncle did name but to a second place; and said that the sole exception against Mr. Cooke was stronger against your brother, which was youth. To the first I answered that it was rather the humour of my Lord to have a man obnoxious[3] to him; and to the second, that the comparison held not good; for if they were both of one standing, yet herself knew there was such a difference in the worthiness of the persons, as if Mr. Cooke's head and beard were grown grey with age it would not counterpoise his other disadvantages. And yet Mr. Bacon was the ancient in standing by three or

that he would speak with Mr. Francis on his return, and said that the matter was thought upon the last Sunday concerning that he writeth of; but whatsoever it is, it seemeth no great comfortable success for him; which as I observed by the manner of his Lordship's speeches, as wishing him well, so I heartily commend me to your good self, and for all your kindness thank you most heartily. Kewe, the 27th September, 1593."—Lambeth MSS. 649. 195. "Last Sunday" was the 23rd.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 197. Copy: docketed 27th September, 1593.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 653. 172. Original: own hand. No date; but docketed "le 19me d'Octobre receue 1593 d'Essex." If the docket be correct, the interview here described must have been on Saturday, October 13th; the day in which Anthony Bacon was stopped on his way to Windsor by a fit of the stone. See Birch, i. 125.

[3] *i.e.* dependent upon him.

four years. Your offers[1] and my mingling of arguments of merit with arguments of affection moved somewhat; but all had been too little if I had not . . . a promise . . .[2] negative, and desired her before she resolved upon any of them to hear me again. So she referred me over till this day. To-day I found her stiff in her opinion that she would have her own way. Whereupon I grew more earnest than ever I did before, insomuch as she told me that she would be advised by those that had more judgment in these things than myself. I replied, so she might be and yet it would be more for her service to hear me than to hear them; for my speech had truth and zeal to her without respect of private ends. If I lacked judgment to discern between the worth of one man and another, the world would teach it me; and it was not an ill rule to hold him for a wise and honest man whom many wise and honest men held in reputation; but those whom she trusted did leave out the wisest and worthiest and did praise for affection. Whereupon she bade me name any man of worth whom they had not named. I named Mr. Morris, and gave him his due. She acknowledged his gifts, but said his speaking against her in such manner as he had done should be a bar against any preferment at her hands; but seemed to marvel that in their bills they had never thought of him. I I told her that I was a stranger to the law and to almost all that professed it, but I was persuaded there were many unspoken of more worthy than those that were commended in the bill. To conclude, the last stratagem hath stalled their proceeding; which yet hath been as violently urged this day as ever was anythiug. I am full of pain and can write no more. I wish to you as to myself, and am your most assured friend,

ESSEX.

I pray you burn this.

FRANCIS BACON TO SIR THOMAS CONEYSBY.[3]

My very good Cousin,

Whereas this gentleman, Mr. Nicholas Trot, one to whom besides familiar acquaintance I am much beholden, hath conveyed unto him for his money a lease of the prebend of Withington under the title of Mr. Leyghton, that was sometimes of the Counsel of the Marches, a man not like to be overreached in his bargains; against the which one Wallwyne claimeth by a former deed of gift supposed to be forged and appearing to be fraudulent, because the same party undertook afterwards to sell it; and his interest hath been quietly enjoyed by twenty years' space; I am earnestly to recommend the assistance of

[1] Probably to accept his brother's preferment as a full recompense for his own services.

[2] These words illegible from the pasting down of the leaf.

[3] Lambeth MSS. 649. 236. Copy: docketed "Let^{r} de Mons^{r} François Bacō à S^{r} Thomas Coneysbey en l'endroit de M^{r} Trot, le 27^{me} d'Octobre, 1593."

this my friend, according to the equity of the case, to your good favour, whereof there will be the more need both because he is a stranger in the country and because the adverse party, as I understand, hath used force about the possession. And therefore, good Cousin, let him use your experience and careful countenance for direction and help, according to that good affection which I persuade myself you bear me, and which I am ready to answer in all kindness. And so I wish you as

Your assured loving cousin,

FR. BACON.

FRANCIS BACON TO HIS AUNT COOKE.[1]

Aunt,

I had spoken a good while since with my Lord Treasurer, whose Lordship took pains to peruse the will which I had with me, and in conclusion was of opinion that if the younger children wanted reasonable allowance it should be supplied, and the overplus to be stored for their advancement. Of the same mind I ever was and am; and there is nothing in my cousin Moris's note against.

Accordingly I have enclosed a note of a proportion which I think you cannot dislike, and which I pray communicate with my cousin Moris and the rest of the executors.

For my part I wish you as a kind alliance. But the question is not between you and me, but between your profit and my trust. I purpose, as soon as I can conveniently, to put the money I have into some other hand, lest you should think the ease of the money prevaileth with me. But I will endure in a good cause; and so wish I you right well, in haste,

Your loving nephew,

FRA. BACON.

Windsor Castle, this 29th October, 1593.

The revenues Mrs. Cooke receiveth for the education and main-

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 237. Copy: docketed, "Copie d'une lettre de Monsr François Bacon à sa tante Cooke, le 29me d'Octobre, 1593." Mrs. Cooke, was, I presume, the widow of one of Lady Bacon's brothers; and Francis one of his executors.

tenance of the younger children, of Laugport, Hocford, and part of Hartshill, are, as I am informed,

P^r^ ann : c^lb^.

The allowance convenient for the children, being four, may be xl^lb^ to Mrs. Anne Cooke in regard of her years, xxx^lb^ to each of the other three.

Sum tot. is cxxx^lb^.

So that Mrs. Cooke is to be answered xxx^lb^ overplus above that she receiveth.

But because there are received by the executors both two parts of the interest money and the profit of the parsonage of Micklekirke, it is fit that the overplus go out of the interest, because it is for the daughters, inasmuch as the lands of Langport and Hocford do suffice for the two sons; and so the profit of Micklekirke to be wholly stored for their advancement, and the residue of the interest for the mending of young Fr. Cook's portion according to the will.

Francis Bacon to Robert Kemp.[1]

Good Robin,

There is no news you can write to me which I take more pleasure to hear than of your health and of your loving remembrance of me. The former whereof though you mentioned not in your letter, yet I straight presumed well of it because your invention was so fresh to make such a flourish; and it was after accordingly confirmed by your man Roger, who made me a particular relation of the furder negotiation between your ague and you. Of the latter, though you profess largely, yet I make more doubt, because your coming is turned into a sending. Which when I thought would have been repaired by some promise or intention of to yourself, your man Roger entered into a very subtle distinction to this purpose, that you would not come except you heard I were Attorney. But I ascribe that to your man's invention, who had his reward in laughing; for I hope you are not grown so stately, but that I shall be one to you *stylo vetere* or *stylo novo*. For my fortune (to speak court) it is very slow, if anything can be slow to him that is secure of the event. [In]

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 281. Copy: docketed, "Lre de Mons^r^ François Bacon à Mons^r^ Robert Kemp, le 4 de November, 1593." Robert Kemp was a young lawyer of Gray's Inn, and a cousin of Bacon's.

short nothing is done in that. But I purpose to remain here at Twickenham till Michaelmas term, then to St. Alban's, and after the term to the Court. Advise you whether you will play the honest man or no. In the meantime I think long to see you, and pray to be remembered to your father and mother.

Yours in loving affection,

Twickenham Park, this 4th of . . . FR. BACON.

FRANCIS BACON TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.[1]

My Lord,

I thought it not amiss to inform your Lordship of that which I gather partly by conjecture and partly by advertisement of the late recovered man that is so much at your Lordship's devotion, of whom I have some cause to doubt that he worketh for the Huddler[2] underhand. And although it may seem strange, considering how much it importeth him to join straight with your Lordship in regard both of his enemies and of his ends; yet I do the less rest secure upon that conceit, because he is a man likely to trust so much to his art and finesse (as he that is an excellent wherryman, who you know looketh towards the bridge when he pulleth towards Westminster) that he will hope to serve

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 283. Original draught or copy in Bacon's own hand: docketed, "Lettre de Mons^r François Bacon à Mons^r le Compte d'Essex le 10^me d'Octobre, 1593." So at least I copied it from the original. But Birch dates it the 10th of *November*, which is the more probable date; for it was on the 13th of October that Essex "drove in the nail for the negative" of Coke. See Essex's letter to Anthony Bacon, p. 258.

[2] By the *Huddler* there can be no doubt that Coke is meant. Who "the late recovered man" was is not so clear. Birch thinks Puckering, but does not say why. It is not impossible that Burghley may be meant, who *had* been ill, and was at that time reported to be better (see Birch, i. 130); but I think it unlikely, because I know no other instance in which Bacon speaks of Burghley except in a tone of great respect. I rather incline to suspect that Sir R. Cecil is meant. "Sir Robert" (writes Standen to A. B., Lambeth MSS. 650, f. 238, date, I regret to say, either not given or not noted) "often at London and often here. When he cometh he always finds me in my Lord's chamber [*i.e.* Essex's], whom he courteth with great outward observations. But in Spain they say—

Quien fiesta os haze y no suele hazer
O os quiere engañar o di os ha menester."

It is true, on the other hand, that Puckering, though he seemed not long ago to be standing rather in Bacon's way (see Burghley's letter of the 27th of September), had of late been showing him favour. Anthony Bacon writes to his mother on the 2nd of November, 1593:—"My brother, I think, will go to St. Alban's sooner" [than tomorrow or next Monday so'nnight] "with my Lord Keeper, who hath kindly offered him room at his own lodging there, as he hath already of late resigned unto him the use of his chamber in the Court" (Lambeth MSS. 649. 274).

his turn and yet to preserve your Lordship's good opinion. This I write to the end that if your Lordship do see nothing to the contrary you may assure him more or trust him less; and chiefly that your Lordship would be pleased to sound again whether they have not amongst them drawn out the nail which your Lordship had driven in for the negative of the Huddler, which if they have, it will be necessary for your Lordship to iterate more forcibly your former reasons, whereof there is such *copia* as I think you may use all the places of logic against his placing.

Thus, with my humble thanks for your Lordship's honourable usage of Mr. Standen, I wish you all honour.

Your Lordship's in most faithful duty,

Fr. Bacon.

I pray, Sir, let not my jargon privilege my letter from burning, because it is not such but the light showeth through.

Francis Bacon to Anthony Standen.[1]

Mr. Standyne,

Understanding since I spake with you, from my Lord, that the Court is like within these three or four days to remove to Richmond, I was enforced to retain the coach to supply my necessary attendance now at Hampton Court, where it was in vain to agree for a lodging for so small time. In which regard I pray hold me excused, as I have also excused the detaining thereof to my brother. Thus I wish you very well. From Twicknā Park, this 2nd of 10^{bre}, 1593.

Your Friend in hearty affection,

Fr. Bacon.

Francis Bacon to his Mother.[2]

Madam,

I received this afternoon at the Court your Ladyship's letter, after I had sent back your horse and written to you this morning. And for my brother's kindness, it is accustomed, he never having yet refused his security for me, as I on the other side

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 300. Original: own hand; written in great hurry, and blotted in the folding up.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 649. 248. Copy.

never made any difficulty to do the like by him according to our several occasions. And therefore if it be not to his own disfurnishing, which I reckon all one with mine own want, I shall receive good ease by that hundreth pounds; specially your Ladyship of your goodness being content it be repaid out of Mr. Boldroe's debt, which it pleased you to bestow upon me. And my desire is it be paid to Knight at Gray's Inn, who shall receive order from me to pay two fifties (which I wish had been two hundreths) where I owe and where it presseth me most. Sir John Hosken is not yet in Court. Both to him and otherwise I will be mindful of Mr. Downing's[1] cause and liberty with the first opportunity. Mr. Nevell, my cousin, though I be further distant than I expected, yet I shall have an apt occasion to remember. To my cousin Kemp I am sending. But that would rest between your Ladyship and myself, as you said. Thus I commend your Ladyship to God's good providence. From the Court, this 4th of 10^{bre}, 1593.

Your Ladyship's most obedient son,

F. B.

FRANCIS BACON TO SIR FRANCIS ALLEN.[2]

Sir Francis Allen,

I do so much favour this gentleman, Mr. Garret, who from my service entered a course of following the wars, which hath succeeded unto him, as to his own commendation, so yet nevertheless not hitherto to his settling in any place answerable to his desert and profession; in regard whereof, understanding of the nomination and appearance of your employment in Ireland, he conceiveth it will be some establishment to him if he may run your fortune, being by you accepted in the place of your lieutenant, your own virtue and reputation considered, and the uncertainty of the French employment. Of his proof and sufficiency to serve I write the less, because I take it to be well known to yourself. But for my particular I do assure you I can hardly imagine a matter wherein you shall more effectually tie me unto

[1] "Brother, my mother hath willed me to recommend unto you, in her name, the earnest soliciting of Mr. Downing's speedy liberty, whose letter to her Ladyship you shall receive enclosed." A. B. to F. B., from Gorhambury, 3rd December, 1593. Lambeth MSS. 649. 306. Mr. Downing was one of the "preachers."

[2] Lambeth MSS. 649. 310. Copy.

you than in this. I wished him to use me but as a means of my brother's commendation, which I esteemed to be of extraordinary weight with you. But because this was the readier and that the entireness between my brother and myself is well known unto you, he desired to begin with this. Thus I wish you all prosperity. From Hampton Court, the 20th of December, 1593.

Yours in unfeigned good affection,

Fr. Bacon.

I was sorry to hear from Mr. Anthony Standen how sharply and unseasonably you were assailed by the gout. But you have of him a careful solicitor, and if I can come in to him with any good endeavour of mine you may reckon of it.

The employment to which Sir Francis Allen had been "nominated" (that is, recommended) is described by Standen in a letter to Anthony Bacon[1] as "a fine and profitable government in Ireland, worth more than three hundred pounds yearly," vacant by "the late decease of one Mr. Carlisle;" for which there was much canvassing; and Sir Francis having been persuaded to apply for it, the Earl of Essex "according to his accustomed manner and forwardness to pleasure his friends" had embraced his suit. Burghley on the contrary, "according to his laudable custom, having an eye to her Majesty's profit," wanted to extinguish the office. So there grew a struggle for it among the Court parties, which caused a long delay. What the business of the office was does not clearly appear, but Sir Francis, to judge by his answer to Bacon's letter, did not take it to be a sinecure.

Sir,[2]

I have received your letter in the behalf of one I love very well, and think myself much beholding to him for his good will, I mean Mr. Garret. But to dispose of that I have not is not my custom. My most honourable Earl of Essex hath embarked himself for me concerning an Irish preferment. How it will please God it shall succeed, with or against me, I am resolved to be his Lordship's thankful ever. If I should have it granted, the quality of the command beareth no such place as a Lieutenant's. And moreover, Sir, to be plain with so honourable a friend as I esteem you, it were mere folly to place such under me that hath no experience of the country service. For myself I have served there; [which] nevertheless will not make me so able but to have great need to

[1] 17th November, 1593. See Birch, i. 130.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 653. 168. Indorsed in Sir F. Allen's hand, "The coppy of my letter to Mr. Fran. Bacon."

be seconded with some one of larger continuance upon the government. When I see you next I will delate to you more at large my court-hopes, all and some. In the meantime I pray, Sir, love me, for I will ever honour your house. And so I commit you to God.

Yours most assured to do you service.

It is proper to add that Anthony Bacon (whose approval of the application his brother seemed to assume), on receiving from Sir Francis a copy of this reply, heartily approved of it "to the last and least tittle,"—protesting that "the straitest link of german consanguinity should never have prevailed so far with him as to have once moved him to have given his bare consent to his brother for such his request and commendation,"[1] from which it would seem that he thought Francis to blame for making the application; though I do not see how it could have been made in a manner more inoffensive and less importunate.

Meantime Christmas passed without any resolution concerning the Attorneyship either way. On the 18th of January, Bacon was informed by the Earl that he might retire at his pleasure, for nothing more would be done till Easter term;[2] and his thirty-third birthday found him still unpreferred, still without professional practice, still entangled in the unavoidable expenses of attendance about the Court, and gradually growing familiar with the fatal necessity of borrowing money to pay the interest due upon money already borrowed.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 649. 309. 25th December, 1593.
[2] Lambeth MSS. 650. 20.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1594, JANUARY—JUNE. ÆTAT. 34.

1.

THE strongest point against Bacon's pretensions for the Attorneyship was his want of practice. His opponents said that "he had never entered the place of battle."[1] Whether this was because he could not find clients or because he did not seek them, I cannot say. It is certain that his ambition never pointed to the life of a private lawyer as his fit vocation, and that as often as he began to despair of employment in the service of the Crown, he began likewise to think of giving up his profession. It was important however in present circumstances to meet the objection by showing what he could do; and opportunity favoured him. On the 25th of January, 1593–4, he made his first pleading in the King's Bench—appearing for the heir of Lord Cheyney against the purchasers of his land[2]—and acquitted himself so well that Burghley sent his secretary "to congratulate unto him the first-fruits of his public practice," and to ask for a note of "his case and the chief points of his pleading, to the end he might make report thereof there where it might do him most good."[3] On the 5th of February he argued another case in the King's Bench,[4] and on the 9th appeared again "in a most famous Chequer Chamber case, where the Lord Keeper and the Lord Treasurer (if he were able), the two Lords Chief Justices, with two other judges of each bench, the Lord Chief Baron, and the rest of the Barons," were expected to be present. Of the impression produced by this last argument we have some record, in a letter from Henry Gosnold, a young lawyer of Gray's Inn, to Anthony Bacon:[5] a letter full of juvenile

[1] Birch, i. 154.
[2] Standen to A. B., 24th January, 1593-4. Lambeth MSS. 650. 16.
[3] A. B. to his mother, 8th February, 1593-4. Lambeth MSS. 649. 29.
[4] A. B. to his mother, 5th February. Lambeth MSS. 649. 31.
[5] Anthony Bacon sent it to his mother on the 12th of February, 1593-4. "I am bold to send your Ladyship a letter from Mr. Harry Gosnalls, thinking it more convenient for myself and comfortable to your Ladyship that you should understand rather by other men's letters than by my own report that which concerns him that is so near and dear to us both."—Lambeth MSS. 650. 32. It may be however that this was not a third case, but the same which was to have come on on the 5th.

affectations, but as the report of one who was present, and the only report we have, worth reading:—

My news are good but not great, and my thanks great but not ceremonious. That Mr. Francis Bacon retains his reputation gained, is not strange to any that knows him. That he hath increased it, is not incredible. The absence of the Lords that were looked for was recompensed with a presence of learned Judges, and seemed an assembly rather capable than honourable. The respect they gave him, although it was extraordinary, was well noted but not envied. The attention of the rest, springing from an experience of good and an expectation of better, could not be better. His argument, contracted by the time, seemed a *bataille serrée*, as hard to be discovered as conquered. The unusual words wherewith he had spangled his speech, were rather gracious for their propriety than strange for their novelty, and like to serve both for occasions to report and means to remember his argument. Certain sentences of his, somewhat obscure, and as it were presuming upon their capacities, will I fear make some of them rather admire than commend him. In sum, all is as well as words can make it, and if it please her Majesty to add deeds, the Bacon may be too hard for the Cook.[1]

A letter from Nicholas Faunt also (11th of February) speaks of this pleading as having obtained general applause. "I hope (he says) his Saturday's work (though half-holiday) shall weigh more than the whole week's travel employed by some. Howsoever, in my poor opinion, it cannot but be well in the end that is generally of all sorts so well taken."[2]

No doubt it was a successful performance, and Bacon prepared to retire to Twickenham for the vacation (which began on the 13th of February and lasted till the 17th of April) with an increased reputation, and the appearance of a better chance of success in his suit; which Essex continued to follow on his behalf as earnestly as ever, though without making any real way. Two vacancies among the puisne judges had been recently filled up, but the Mastership of the Rolls was still empty; no one had yet been appointed to succeed Walsingham, who had been dead now nearly four years; and there was another secretaryship vacant besides. Burghley, weary of the delay, had begun to press the Queen for a decision, and "straitly urged her to the nomination of Coke to be her Attorney-General"—(the Rolls seem to have been all along destined for Sir Thomas Egerton)—"and also to the nomination of a pair of secretaries, Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Edward Stafford, and a pair of other officers in her household."[3] But Essex set his face against

[1] Lambeth MSS. 653. 101. Original: no date. [2] Lambeth MSS. 650. 67.
[3] A. B. to his mother, 5th February, 1593-4. Lambeth MSS. 649. 31.

all these appointments, and in a conversation with Sir Robert Cecil (30th of January) declared himself more resolutely than ever in favour of Bacon. Sir Robert "prayed him to be better advised; saying, 'If your Lordship had spoken of the *solicitorship*, that might be of easier digestion to the Queen.' Digest me no digesting (said the Earl); for the Attorneyship is that I must have for Francis Bacon; and in that I will spend my uttermost credit, friendship, and authority against whomsoever, and that whosoever went about to procure it to others, that it should cost both the mediators and the suitors the setting on before they came by it. And this be you assured of, Sir Robert, quoth the Earl, for now do I fully declare myself; and for your own part, Sir Robert, I do think much and strange both of my Lord your father and you, that can have the mind to seek the preferment of a stranger before so near a kinsman; namely considering if you weigh in a balance his parts and sufficiency in any respect with those of his competitor, excepting only four poor years of admittance, which Francis Bacon hath more than recompensed with the priority of his reading,[1] in all other respects you shall find no comparison between them."[2]

In such terms the matter stood at the beginning of the Easter vacation, before the end of which it was likely at last to be settled. I do not find that at this time Bacon took any part in the canvass himself.

2.

Before he left Gray's Inn for Twickenham, the following letters passed between him and his mother, relating entirely to private matters, of which I cannot offer any further elucidation. "My cousin Kempe" was probably the "Good Robin" to whom Bacon's letter of the 4th of November was addressed. What was the nature of the unkind dealing of which Lady Bacon complains, does not appear; but from the quiet tone of Francis's answer I should infer that it was some charge suggested by that irritable jealousy which was her weakness, and which would have been aggravated by expostulation.

"I sent you my Cousin Kempe's letter by goodman Rolff. His manner of writing is very unkind and almost unchristian, knowing as he doth mine

[1] Meaning Coke's reading at the Inner Temple, I suppose. For Coke is said to have been appointed Reader at Lyon's Inn in 1579, two years before Bacon was called to the Bar. He was admitted of Clifford's Inn, 24th April, 1572; and chosen Bencher of the Inner Temple in 1590. Bacon was admitted of Gray's Inn 27th June, 1576; Bencher, 1586; Reader, 1588.

[2] A. B. to his mother, 5th February, 1593-4. Lambeth MSS. 649. 31.

unmovable purpose to that last use, and that it was only of trust upon a month's warning betwixt him and me. I never thought it possible such dealing from him. He hopes belike for some delay after my time. But I will, by the grace of the Lord, follow it to have it by law out of hand. I pray you send me advice by law how to begin and to proceed. For I cannot away with such dealing in such a matter for such a use.

"I mean also, God willing, to send for my implements there upon Wednesday next. If Mr. Yates your man may go, I would have him ready there by two of the clock, with horses if he may. If his leisure serve not, I will send Lawrence and some other, because my cousin will be away about the end of the week at Windsor, and uncertain of his return to London, if not unwilling. Cura ut bene valeas.

"Send my letter from my cousin I pray."[1]

This letter has neither date nor address. But the following from Francis Bacon, of the 14th of February, 1593, being evidently a reply either to it or to another that came between on the same subject, fixes the date as nearly as we want.

[2]After the remembrance of my humble duty, it is so that my cousin Kemp is gone to Windsor, and, as he appointed, not to return till the end of the next week. He acquainted me of his going upon this occasion, that he brought to me and left with me a couple of keys, saying that he thought your Ladyship would send for certain apparel, which by the means of these keys your Ladyship might receive. So that by reason of his absence your Ladyship's letter could not be delivered. And your servant Lawrence was of opinion, and so methought he had reason, that such things as your Ladyship sent for, being delivered and charged by inventory, could not be safely redelivered without his presence.

For your Ladyship's money, my cousin Kemp told me that rather than purchase your Ladyship's displeasure he would provide it, what shift soever be made. And so I think verily he will. Therefore my intention is at his coming to deliver your Ladyship's letter, and to proceed as you have directed, except I hear otherwise from your Ladyship in the meantime.

Further, if your Ladyship withdraw any implements of house from thence, which I take it were such as served in York House,[3] your Ladyship had ever an intention they should be bestowed of

[1] Lambeth MSS. 653. 190. Original: docketed "L^m de Madame."
[2] Lambeth MSS. 649. 40. Copy, in the hand of A. B.'s amanuensis.
[3] His father's London residence.

Markes or Twicknam, and indeed I want them, and find how costly the buying of new is. Whereof I do but remember your Ladyship; for I am fain, as they say, between Gray's Inn and Twicknam to rob Peter and pay Paul, and to remove my stuff to and fro, which is chargeable, and hurteth the stuff. And therefore, Madam, they would do wondrous well if you thought so good; and if your Ladyship would give me leave to see what I want, the rest may remain where it shall please you. But herein I refer myself to your Ladyship's good pleasure.

Besides my cousin hath in custody my residue of plate, which, if your Ladyship take all out of his hands, I pray let me receive.

I have sent your Ladyship the key of your jewel-casket, which I lately received from my cousin.

I humbly thank your Ladyship for your good counsel every way, and I hope by God's assistance to follow the same. For my health, I shall have now some leisure to use the benefit of the spring season for the confirming thereof, and I am right glad to understand it is so well with my brother as it is; and thus I leave your Ladyship to the good pleasure of the Almighty; hoping this spring will recover [you] clearly from your quartain. From Gray's Inn, this 14th of February, 1593.

Your Ladyship's most obedient son,

Fr. Bacon.

3.

The vacation supplied Bacon with a little piece of work of another kind; which also fell in seasonably to prove his capacities for business. The Earl of Essex had been engaged for the last three months in tracing the particulars of a conspiracy, which, though nothing was suspected at first more than a Portuguese intrigue with the King of Spain, turned out to be nothing less than a plot to murder Queen Elizabeth. Don Antonio was at that time entertained in England as the lawful King of Portugal, driven from his throne by Philip. But as his prospects grew dimmer, his followers began to fall away and to think of making their peace with the usurper; whose favour they could best deserve (living as they did about the English Court) by the sale of English secrets. About the middle of October, 1593,[1] suspicion of some such transaction falling upon one Ferrera de Gama, a Portuguese gentleman in Don Antonio's service, he was appre-

[1] Harl. MSS. 871. 7.

hended; himself handed over to his master, and his papers to the Earl of Essex, with commission to search the matter out. Order was accordingly taken to intercept all letters and messengers addressed to subjects of Portugal resident in England. By these it soon appeared that some important secret was in hand, but so carefully wrapt up that nothing could be distinctly made out, until Ferrera himself, in his anxiety to avoid detection, furnished a clue which being closely followed led to the discovery of all. This was a letter dispatched by him in great secrecy to one Dr. Lopez, physician to Queen Elizabeth, which fell into the hands of Don Antonio. By this it appeared that a certain messenger was expected from the Continent with letters, the discovery of which would be fatal to them *both*. It was clear therefore that Lopez, of whose fidelity nobody had the least suspicion, was somehow concerned in the intrigue; and Ferrera being interrogated upon the matters thus disclosed, and finding that it was useless to deny all, and concluding that Lopez had betrayed him, was content to admit thus much:—that himself and others had indeed been endeavouring to make their peace with Spain, and that Lopez, who had for some years been in correspondence with the King, was a party to the negotiation. This declaration, though set down in writing for Don Antonio as early as the 11th of November, was not made known to the Government till the 20th of January;[1] for what reason I cannot guess. It seems however that the Cecils were either wanting in their usual sagacity on this occasion, or unwilling to help forward an investigation which, having been entrusted almost entirely to their young rival, would put a new feather in his cap if it led to anything important. It is certain that at first neither they nor the Queen attached any importance to the charge against Lopez; and when he was examined upon it (21st January) and his house searched, and no papers of intelligence found there, the accusation was set down as a malicious calumny, and Essex himself as "a rash and temerarious youth to enter into a matter against the poor man which he could not prove," thereby compromising the Queen's honour.[2] But Essex had better grounds for his suspicion than they thought. He had conducted the examination in person; had seen the faces of the witnesses and heard their voices; had closely studied all the intercepted correspondence; and so received deeper and truer impressions, probably, than the written depositions could convey. And though he took the Queen's rebuke in such dudgeon that for the next two days he would not come out of his chamber, yet presently relenting he resolved to justify himself by following up the scent. This he did with such skill and assiduity that through a care-

[1] Harl. MSS. 871. 18 b. [2] Birch, i. 150.

ful scrutiny of all the intercepted letters and repeated examination of the several parties whom they had in custody, evidence enough was extracted within a few days to implicate Lopez in a much more serious charge than even he had suspected. "I have discovered" (he writes to Anthony Bacon on the 28th of January) "a most dangerous and desperate treason. The point of conspiracy was her Majesty's death. The executioner should have been Dr. Lopez; the manner poison. This I have so followed as I will make it as clear as the noonday."[1] Lopez was then sent to the Tower; and in the course of the ensuing month a case was made out (not however, I am sorry to say, till one of the chief witnesses[2] had had the "manacles" shown to him) clear enough to go to a jury with, and on the 28th of February he was tried at Guildhall and found guilty.

Up to this point Bacon had had nothing to do with the case; unless Essex, whom he frequently saw while it was going on, consulted him about it privately; which we do not know. But it was no ordinary business. Two principal officers of the King of Spain were directly and deeply implicated in the plot. It is hardly possible to doubt that the King himself knew and approved of it: and proof of this was inextricably interwoven with the evidence produced on the trial. Now it was desirable for many reasons that a case so grave, so singular, and so complicated should be embodied in an authentic narrative for the information and satisfaction of the public. But how was Philip's part in it to be treated? Elizabeth was always strongly disposed to stand by her order; always loath to degrade her office by publishing the crimes of kings and queens, even though they were enemies and she herself the party sinned against. And it would seem from the number of narratives of this case which were drawn up at the time but not published,[3] that upon this point there was a division of opinion among her councillors. The final resolution however was to publish nothing for the present, and to delay the execution of Lopez; in hope that Philip (who must have known well enough from the proceedings at the trial how much his own character was concerned) would take some step to clear himself of the imputation.[4]

Meanwhile, among the other narratives which were drawn up but not published, was one by Bacon, who was present at the trial; written (as appears by an incidental allusion noticed in its place) be-

[1] Birch, i. 152. [2] Manuel Lewis Tinoco. See Harl. MSS. 871. p. 42 b.

[3] Three in the State Paper Office: one in Murdin, p. 669; another (from which I have gathered the account here given of the discovery of the plot) in Harl. MSS. 871.

[4] See 'True Report of Sundry Horrible Conspiracies,' etc., printed at London, November, 1594, p. 14. Also Birch's Negotiations, p. 15.

fore the end of March; but whether by the Queen's direction, or at Essex's request, or at his own suggestion, I cannot say. Judging by the elaborate title which it bears, I should think it was composed with a view to publication, though I believe it appeared in print for the first time in the 'Resuscitatio' (1657), and as I have met with no manuscript copy, I conclude that it had never been much circulated. It is interesting, though the composition is hasty and careless, not only as containing the clearest and most compendious account of the case that is to be found, but also as giving Bacon's idea of the manner in which the King of Spain's part in the business was to be touched upon. I have compared it with the account given in the Harleian MS. 871—an account drawn up apparently by some one who was himself employed in the examinations,[1] with a view to explain, not so much the nature and evidence of the crime, as the process and particulars of the discovery. This is in most parts much fuller, and contains all the examinations and confessions set forth at length, with the dates. Had Bacon's narrative been published, the most important of these would probably have been added in an appendix; as they were in the 'True Report of Sundry Horrible Conspiracies,' etc., printed in the following November; which appears to have been drawn up by Coke.[2] I have not however thought it necessary to print them here, but have only given references to the pages where authority may be found for the principal statements in the text; together with notes, taken either from that MS. or the record of the indictment in 'Baga de Secretis,' of the dates at which the principal transactions occurred. One circumstance, which I have pointed out in its place, appears to be misdated, but the error is of no importance, and in all other respects the report seems to be carefully and minutely accurate.

A TRUE REPORT OF THE DETESTABLE TREASON, INTENDED BY DR. RODERIGO LOPEZ,

A PHYSICIAN ATTENDING UPON THE PERSON OF THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY,

Whom he, for a sum of money, promised to be paid to him by the King of Spain, did undertake to have destroyed by poison; with certain circumstances both of the plotting and detecting of the same treason. Penned during the Queen's life.[3]

THE King of Spain, having found by the enterprise of '88

[1] "As soon as he saw that *we* were in good earnest," etc. Harl. MSS. 871. 42 b.
[2] See the copy in the British Museum, with a MS. note in Coke's handwriting on the titlepage.
[3] About the 20th of March, 1593-4.

the difficulty of an invasion of England, and having also since that time embraced the matters of France (being a design of a more easy nature and better prepared to his hand), hath of necessity for a time laid aside the prosecution of his attempts against this realm by open forces; as knowing his means unable to wield both actions at once, as well that of England as that of France. And therefore, casting at the fairest, [he] hath in a manner bent his whole strength upon France, making in the meantime only a defensive war upon the Low Countries. But finding again that the supports and aids which her Majesty hath continued to the French King are a principal impediment and retardation to his prevailing there according to his ends, he hath now of late by all means projected to trouble the waters here, and to cut us out some work at home; that by practice, without diverting and employing any great forces, he mought nevertheless divert our succours from France.

According to which purpose, he first proved to move some innovation in Scotland; not so much in hope to alienate the King from the amity of her Majesty, as practising to make a party there against the King himself, whereby he should be compelled to use her Majesty's forces for his assistance. Then he solicited a subject within this realm (being a person of great nobility) to rise in arms and levy war against her Majesty; which practice was by the same nobleman loyally and prudently revealed. And lastly (rather, as it is to be thought, by the instigation of our traitorous fugitives in foreign parts and the corrupter sort of his counsellors and ministers than of his own nature and inclination), either himself,[1] or his said counsellors and ministers using his name, have descended to a course against all honour, all society and humanity, odious to God and man, detested by the heathen themselves; which is, to take away the life of her Majesty (which God have in his precious custody) by violence or poison. A matter which mought be proved to be not only against all Christianity and religion, but against nature, the law of nations, the honour of arms, the civil law, the rules of morality and policy; finally to be the most condemned, barbarous, and ferine act that can be imagined; yea (supposing the quarrels and hostility between the princes to be never so declared and so mortal) yet were it not that it would be a very reproach unto the age

[1] *of himself:* Res.

that the matter should be once disputed or called in question, it could never be defended. And therefore I leave it to the censure which Titus Livius giveth in the like case upon Perseus, the last king of the Macedons, afterwards overthrown, taken with his children, and led in triumph by the Romans; *Quem non justum bellum gerere regio animo, sed per omnia clandestina grassari scelera latrociniorum ac veneficiorum cernebant.*[1]

But to proceed, certain it is that even about this present time there have been suborned and sent into this realm divers persons, some English, some Irish, corrupted by money and promises, and resolved and conjured by priests in confession to have executed that most wretched and horrible fact; of which number certain have been taken, and some have suffered, and some are spared because they have with great sorrow confessed these attempts, and detested their suborners. And if I should conjecture what the reason is why this cursed enterprise was at this time so hotly and with such devilish diligence pursued, I take it to be chiefly because the matters of France wax ripe, and the King of Spain made himself ready to unmask himself, and to reap that in France which he had been long in sowing; in regard that there being like to be a divulsion in the League by the reconciliation of some of the heads to the King, the more passionate sort, being destituted by their associates, were like to cast themselves wholly into the King of Spain's arms, and to dismember some important piece of that crown; though now upon this fresh accident of receiving the King into Paris,[2] it is to be thought that both the worse affected of the League will submit themselves upon any tolerable conditions to their natural king, thus advanced in strength and reputation; and the King of Spain will take a second advice ere he embark himself too far in any new attempt against France. But (taking the affairs as they then stood, before this accident unexpected, especially of the counsel of Spain)—during this his supposed harvest in France his counsel had reason to wish that there were no

[1] Lib. xlii. cap. 18. *Quem non justum modo adparare bellum*, etc. One of innumerable instances of slight verbal inaccuracy in Bacon's quotations; showing that he was in the habit of quoting from memory.

[2] This happened on the 12th of March, 1593-4 (O.S.), and was fresh news in England on the 19th. See Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, i. 164. Hence we learn the date of the composition of this report. From the wording of this paragraph I should suspect that the news came after it was begun and before it was finished; there being a little confusion among the tenses, such as would be caused by the after-insertion of such a clause.

disturbance from hence; where they make account that if her Majesty were removed (upon whose person God continue his extraordinary watch and providence) here would be nothing but confusion; which they do not doubt but with some no great treasure and forces from without may be nourished, till they can more fully intend the ruin of this state according to their ancient malice.

But howsoever that be, amongst the number of these execrable undertakers there was none so much built and relied upon by the great ones of the other side, as was this physician Lopez; nor indeed none so dangerous; whether you consider the aptness of the instrument, or the subtlety and secrecy of those that practised with him, or the shift and evasion which he had provided for a colour of his doings, if they should happen to come into question. For first, whereas others were to find and encounter infinite difficulties in the very obtaining of an opportunity to execute this horrible act, and besides cannot but see present and most assured death before their eyes, and therefore must be (as it were) damnable votaries if they undertake it; this man, in regard of his faculty and of his private access to her Majesty, had both means to perpetrate and means to conceal; whereby he might reap the fruit of his wicked treason without evident peril. And for his complices that practised with him, being Portugueses and of the retinue of King Antonio, the King of Spain's mortal enemy, they were men thereby freed and discharged from suspicion, and mought send letters and receive letters out of Spain without jealousy, as those which were thought to entertain intelligences there for the good of their master. And for the evasion and mask that Lopez had prepared for this treason, if it had not been searched and sifted to the bottom, it was that he did intend but to cozen the King of Spain, without ill meaning; somewhat in the nature of that stratagem which Parry, a most cunning and artificial traitor, had provided for himself.

Nevertheless this matter, by the great goodness of God falling into good hands of those honourable and sufficient persons which dealt therein, was by their great and worthy industry so handled and followed, as this Proteus of a disguised and transformed treason did at last appear in his own likeness and colours; which were as foul and monstrous as have been known in the world. For some of her Majesty's counsel long since entered

into consideration that the retinue of King Antonio (I mean some of them) were not unlike to hatch these kinds of treasons; in regard they were needy strangers, entered into despair of their master's fortune, and like enough to aspire to make their peace at home by some such wicked services as these; and therefore grew to have an extraordinary vigilant eye upon them. Which prudent and discreet presumption or conjecture, joined with some advertisements of espials abroad and some other industry, was the first cause (next under the great benediction of God, which giveth unto princes zealous counsellors, and giveth to counsellors policy and discerning thoughts) of the revealing and discovering of these treasons; which were contrived in order and form as hereafter is set down.

This Lopez, of nation a Portuguese, and suspected to be in sect secretly a Jew (though here he conformed himself to the rites of Christian religion),[1] for a long time professed physic in this land; by occasion whereof,—being withal a man very observant and officious, and of a pleasing and appliable behaviour,—in that regard, rather than for any great learning in his faculty, he grew known and favoured in Court, and was some years since sworn physician of her Majesty's household; and by her Majesty's bounty, of whom he had received divers gifts of good commodity, was grown to good estate of wealth.

This man had insinuated himself greatly (in regard he was of the same nation) with the King Antonio, whose causes he pretended to solicit at the Court, especially while he supposed there was any appearance of his fortune; of whom also he had obtained (as one that referred all his doings to gain) an assignation of fifty thousand crowns to be levied in Portugal.[2] But being a person wholly of a corrupt and mercenary nature, and finding his hopes cold from that part, he cast his eyes upon a more able paymaster, and secretly made offer long since[3] of his service to the King of Spain; and accordingly gave sundry intelligences[4] of that which passed here, and imported most for the King of Spain to know; having no small means, in regard of his continual attendance at Court, nearness, and access, to learn many particulars of great weight. Which intelligences

[1] Harl. MSS. 871, p. 59 b. [2] Harl. MSS. 871, p. 57.

[3] As early as 1st of May, 32 Eliz. (1590), according to the indictment, as given in the 'Baga de Secretis.' See the Report of the Record Commission, p. 285.

[4] 31st August, 33 Eliz. (1591). Id. ibid.

he entertained with Bernardine Mendoza, Antonio Vega, Roderigo Marquez, and divers others.

In the conveyance of which his intelligences and in the making known of his disposition to do the King of Spain service, he had [used] amongst others one Manuel Andrada,[1] a Portuguese, revolted from Don Antonio to the King of Spain; one that was discovered to have practised the death of the said Don Antonio, and to have betrayed him to Bernardine Mendoza. This man coming hither was for the same his practice (appearing by letters intercepted) apprehended and committed to prison. Before which time also there had been by good diligence intercepted other letters, whereby the said Andrada advertised Mendoza that he had won Dr. Lopez to the King's service;[2] but Lopez having understanding thereof, and finding means to have secret conference with Andrada before his examination, persuaded with him to take the matter upon himself, as if he had invented that advertisement touching Lopez only to procure himself credit with Mendoza, and to make him conceive well of his industry and service.[3] And to move him hereunto, Lopez set before Andrada, that if he did excuse him he should have credit to work his delivery, whereas if he did impeach him he was not like to find any other means of favour; by which subtle persuasion Andrada, when he came to be examined, answered according to the direction and lessoning which Lopez had given him. Who[4] having thus acquitted himself of this suspicion, became suitor for Andrada's delivery, craftily suggesting that he was to do some notable service to Don Antonio; in which his suit he accordingly prevailed. When Lopez had thus got Andrada out of prison, he was suffered to go out of the realm into Spain; in pretence (as was said) to do some service to Don Antonio; but in truth, to continue Lopez' negotiation and intelligences with the King of Spain; which he handled so well, as at his return hither, for the comforting of the said Lopez, he brought to him from the King (besides thanks and words of encouragement, and an Abrazo, which is the complement of favour) a very good jewel garnished with sundry stones of good value.[5] This jewel when

[1] See Ferrera's declaration, addressed to Don Antonio, 11th November, 1593, Harl. MSS. 871, p. 18; and his confession, 30th January, p. 33 b.
[2] Ferrera's confession, 22nd February, 1593. Harl. MSS. 871. 40 b.
[3] Id. ibid. [4] *And:* Res.
[5] 30th November, 34 Eliz. (1591). Bag. de Secr. p. 285. According to the

Lopez had accepted, he cunningly cast with himself that if he should offer it to her Majesty, first he was assured she would not take it; next, that thereby he should lay her asleep and make her secure of him for greater matters, according to the saying, *Fraus sibi fidem in parvis præstruit ut in magnis opprimat*;[1] which accordingly he did, with protestations of his fidelity: and her Majesty, as a princess of magnanimity, not apt to fear or suspicion, returned it to him with gracious words.

After Lopez had thus abused her Majesty, and had these trials of the fidelity of Andrada, they fell in conference (the matter being first moved by Andrada, as he that came freshly out of Spain) touching the empoisoning of the Queen. Which Lopez (who saw that matter of intelligence without some such particular service would draw no great reward from the King of Spain, such as a man that was not needy but wealthy as he was could find any taste in) assented unto;[2] and to that purpose procured again this Andrada to be sent over; as well to advertise and assure this matter to the King of Spain and his ministers (namely, to the Count de Fuentes, assistant to the General of the King of Spain's forces in the Low Countries), as also to capitulate and contract with him about the certainty of his reward. Andrada having received those instructions, and being furnished with money, by Lopez' procurement, from Don Antonio,[3] about whose service his employment was believed to be, went over to Calais;[4] where he remained, to be near unto England and Flanders; having a boy that ordinarily passed to and fro between him and Lopez; by whom he did also, the better to colour his employment, write to Lopez intelligence, as it was agreed he should between him and Lopez, who bad him send such news as he should take up in the streets.[5] From Calais he writeth to Count de Fuentes of Lopez' promise and demands. Upon the receipt of which letters, after some time taken to advertise this proposition into Spain and to receive direction thereupon, the Count de Fuentes associated with Stephano Ibarra, secretary of the coun-

Harleian MS., the jewel was sent by Andrada "about three years past," counting back from 22nd January, 1593-4 (p. 24). An "abrazo" was sent by Manuel Louis in the summer of 1593. See Ferrera's confession, 30th January, 1593, p. 33; and Manuel Louis's, p. 43 b.

[1] "It is a point of cunning to be faithful in little things that you may have an opportunity of being treacherous in great."

[2] 20th February, 1592-3.

[3] Harl. MSS. 871, p. 58 b.

[4] 30th April, 1593.

[5] Harl. MSS. 871. 58 b.

sel of the wars in the Low Countries, calleth to him one Manuel Louys Tinoco, a Portuguese, who had also followed King Antonio, and of whose good devotion he had had experience, in that he had conveyed unto him two several packets, wherewith he was trusted by the King Antonio for France.[1] Of this Louys they first received a corporal oath, with solemn ceremony, taking his hands between their hands, that he should keep secret that which should be imparted to him, and never reveal the same, though he should be apprehended and questioned here.[2] This done, they acquaint him with the letters of Andrada, with whom they charge him to confer at Calais in his way, and to pass to Lopez into England; addressing him further to Stephano Ferrera de Gama, and signifying unto the said Lopez withal (as from the King) that he gave no great credence to Andrada, as a person too slight to be used in a cause of so great weight; and therefore marvelled much that he heard nothing from Ferrera of this matter;[3] from whom he had in former time been advertised in generality of Lopez' good affection to do him service. This Ferrera had been sometimes a man of great livelihood and wealth in Portugal, which he did forego in adhering to Don Antonio, and appeareth to be a man of a capacity and practice; but hath some years since been secretly won to the service of the King of Spain; not travelling nevertheless to and fro, but residing as his lieger in England.

Manuel Louys, dispatched with these instructions and with all affectionate commendations from the Count to Lopez and with letters to Ferrera, took his journey first to Calais, where he conferred with Andrada; of whom receiving more ample information, together with a short ticket of credence to Lopez,[4] that he was a person whom he mought trust without scruple, [he] came over into England: and first repaired to Ferrera, and acquainted him with the state of the business;[5] who had before that time

[1] Harl. MSS. 871, p. 42.

[2] There seems to be a slight error here; for the ceremony of the oath appears to have taken place on the 9th of December, 1593 (see Manuel Lewis's confession, Harl. MSS. 871, p. 43), whereas we are now in August. It is to be observed that Manuel Louis's consent to confess was not voluntary. It was not until he had been "brought to the manacles, and saw" (says the writer of the Harleian MS.) "that we were in good earnest," that he offered to confess. Having once, however, abandoned his resolution to confess nothing, he seems to have confessed all without further constraint, and in writing. See p. 42 b.

[3] See his voluntary declaration in writing, p. 45.

[4] Confessed both by Ferrera, p. 33 b, and Manuel Louis, 43 b.

[5] 4th September, 35 Eliz. (1593). Bag. de Sec. p. 286.

given some light unto Lopez, that he was not a stranger unto the practice between him and Andrada; wherewith indeed Andrada had in a sort acquainted him.[1] And now upon this new dispatch and knowledge given to Lopez of the choice of Ferrera to continue that which Andrada had begun, he, to conform himself the better to the satisfaction of the King of Spain and his ministers abroad, was content more fully to communicate with Ferrera, with whom, from that time forward, he meant singly and apertly to deal; and therefore cunningly forbare to speak with Manuel Louys himself; but concluded that Ferrera should be his only trunk, and all his dealings should pass through his hands; thinking thereby to have gone invisible.

Whereupon he cast with himself, that it was not [so] safe to use the mediation of Manuel Louys, who had been made privy to the matter, as some base carrier of letters; which letters also should be written in a cipher; not of alphabet, but of words; such as mought, if they were opened, import no vehement suspicion. And therefore Manuel Louys was sent back with a short answer,[2] and Lopez purveyed himself of a base fellow, a Portuguese called Gomez d'Avila, dwelling hard by Lopez' house, to convey his letters. After this messenger provided, it was agreed between Lopez and Ferrera[3] that letters should be sent to the Count de Fuentes and Secretary Ibarra,[4] written and signed by Ferrera (for Lopez cautelously did forbear to write himself), but directed and indeed dictated word by word by Lopez himself.[5] The contents thereof were, that Lopez was ready to execute that service to the King which before had been treated, but required for his recompense the sum of 50,000 crowns, and assurance for the same.

These letters were written obscurely (as was touched) in terms of merchandise; to which obscurity when Ferrera excepted, Lopez answered, *they knew his meaning by that which had passed before.*[6] Ferrera wrote also to Manuel Louys, but charged this Gomez to deliver the same letters unto him in the presence

[1] Manuel Louis's voluntary declaration. Harl. MSS. 871. 45.
[2] 5th September, 35 Eliz. (1593). Indictment of Emmanuel Lewis Tynoco. Bag. de Sec. p. 286.
[3] 17th September, 1593. Bag. de Sec. p. 285.
[4] *Juarra* in 'Resuscitatio,' and so throughout, except upon the first mention of the name, p. 112.
[5] Confessed by Lopez himself. Harl. MSS. 871, p. 32.
[6] Ferrera's confession, 18th February, 1593-4, p. 39 b.

of Ibarra; as also the letter to Ibarra in the presence of Manuel Louys.[1] And these letters were delivered to Gomez d'Avila to be carried to Bruxells, and a passport procured, and his charges defrayed, by Lopez. And Ferrera, the more to approve his industry, writ letters two several times (the one conveyed by Emanuel Pallacios[2]), with the privity of Lopez, to Christophero Moro, a principal counsellor of the King of Spain, in Spain, signifying that Lopez was won to the King of Spain, and that he was ready to receive his commandment; and received a letter from the same Christophero Moro in answer to one of these, which he shewed unto Lopez.[3] In the meantime Lopez, though a man (in semblance) of a heavy wit,—yet indeed subtle of himself, as one trained in practice, and besides as wily as fear and covetousness could make him,—thought to provide for himself (as was partly touched before) as many starting-holes and evasions as he could devise, if any of these matters should come to light. And first he took his time to cast forth some general words afar off to her Majesty, as asking her the question, *Whether a deceiver might not be deceived?* Whereof her Majesty (not imagining these words tended to such end as to warrant him colourably in this wretched conspiracy, but otherwise of her own natural disposition bent to integrity and sincerity) uttered dislike and disallowance. Next, he thought he had wrought a great mystery in demanding the precise sum of 50,000 crowns, agreeing just with the sum of assignation or donation from Don Antonio; idly and in that[4] grossly imagining that if afterwards he should accept the same sum, he mought excuse it as made good by the King of Spain, in regard he desisted to follow and favour Don Antonio, whereupon the King of Spain was in honour tied not to see him a loser.[5] Thirdly, in his conferences with Ferrera when he was apposed upon the particular manner how he would poison her Majesty, he purposely named unto him a syrup, knowing that her Majesty never useth syrup;[6] and therefore thinking that would prove an high point for his justification, if things should come in any question.

[1] Confessed by Gomez at his first apprehension, p. 30 b.
[2] Ferrera's first confession, 11th November, 1593-4, p. 17 b.
[3] Ferrera's examination, 22nd January, 1593-4, p. 22; also Lopez's, p. 23.
[4] So in 'Resuscitatio;' qy. *indeed*.
[5] "And saith, moreover, that the Doctor gave him the provision of fifty thousand crowns, which he had of the King Antonio, after a dissembling manner, to cover this matter." Ferrera's confession, 22nd February, p. 41 b.
[6] Lopez's confession, 25th February, p. 50 b.

But all this while desirous after his prey, which he had in hope devoured, he did instantly importune Ferrera for the answering of his last dispatch; finding the delay strange, and reiterating the protestations of his readiness to do the service, if he were assured of his money.[1]

Now before the return of Gomez d'Avila into England, this Stephen Ferrera was discovered to have intelligence with the enemy; but so as the particulars of his traffic and overtures appeared not. Only it seemed there was great account made of that he managed; and thereupon he was committed to prison.[2] Soon after arrived Gomez d'Avila, and brought letters only from Manuel Louys, by the name of Francesco de Thores;[3] because (as it seemeth) the great persons on the other side had a contrary disposition to Lopez, and liked not to write by so base a messenger, but continued their course to trust and employ Manuel Louys himself, who in likelihood was retained till they mought receive a full conclusion from Spain; which was not till about two months after. This Gomez was apprehended at his landing, and about him were found the letters aforesaid, written in jargon or verbal cipher, but yet somewhat suspicious, in these words: "This bearer will tell you the price in which your pearls are esteemed, and in what resolution we rest about a little musk and amber, which I am determined to buy."[4] Which words the said Manuel Louys afterwards voluntarily confessed to be deciphered in this sort, that by the allowance of the pearls he meant that the Count de Fuentes and the Secretary did gladly accept the offer of Lopez to poison the Queen, signified by Ferrera's letter; and for the provision of amber and musk, it was meant, that the Count looked shortly for a resolution from the King of Spain concerning a matter of importance; which was for burning of the Queen's ships, and another point tending to the satisfaction of their vindicative humour.[5]

But while the sense of this former letter rested ambiguous, and that no direct particular was confessed by Ferrera, nor sufficient light given to ground any rigorous examination of him,

[1] 30th October, 35 Eliz. (1593). Bag. de Sec. p. 286. See also Ferrera's confession, 22nd February, p. 41 b.

[2] This was about the middle of October, 1593. Harl. MSS. 871, p. 7.

[3] Written at Brussels, 26th October, 35 Eliz. (1593). Bag. de Sec. p. 287.

[4] This letter (dated 5th December, 1593) is quoted at length, Harl. MSS. 871, p. 11.

[5] This was the killing of Antonio Perez. Harl. MSS. 871. 52.

cometh over Manuel Louys with the resolution from Spain ;[1] who first understanding of Ferrera's restraint, and therefore doubting how far things were discovered, to shadow the matter, like a cunning companion, gave advertisement of an intent he had to do service, and hereupon obtained a passport.[2] But after his coming in, he made no haste to reveal anything, but thought to dally and abuse in some other sort. And while the light was thus in the clouds, there was also intercepted a little ticket which Ferrera in prison had found means to write, in care to conceal Lopez, and (to keep him out of danger) to give a caveat of staying all further answers and advertisements in these causes. Whereupon Lopez was first called in question.[3]

But in conclusion, this matter being with all assiduity and policy more and more pierced and mined into, first, there was won from Manuel Louys his letters from the Count de Fuentes and Secretary Ibarra to Ferrera, in both which mention is made of the Queen's death; in that of the Count's, under the term of a Commission; and in that of the Secretary's, under the term of the Great Service, whereof should arise an universal benefit to the whole world. Also the letters of credit written by Gonsalo Gomez,[4] one to Pedro de Carrera, and the other to Juan Pallacio, to take up a sum of money by Emanuel Louys, by the foresaid false name of Fr. de Thores; letters so large, and in a manner without limitation, as any sum by virtue thereof mought be taken up.[5] Which letters were delivered to Louys by the Count de Fuentes' own hand, with directions to show them to Lopez for his assurance; a matter of God's secret working in staying the same; for thereupon rested only the execution of the fact of Lopez. Upon so narrow a point consisted the safety of her Majesty's life, already sold by avarice to malice and ambition, but extraordinarily preserved by that watchman which never slumbereth. This same Emanuel Louys, and Stephen Ferrera also (whereof the one managed the matter abroad, and the other resided here to give correspondence) never meeting after Emanuel

[1] He left Brussels for London on the 26th of December, 1593. Bag. de Sec. p. 287.

[2] *i.e.* to come over from Paris; with request that his coming might be kept secret. Harl. MSS. 871, p. 19 b.

[3] 21st of January, 1593-4. Harl. MSS. 871. 19.

[4] Dated 6th December, 1593.

[5] Copies of all those letters are given (in translation) in the Harl. MSS. pp. 27, 28, 31, 32.

had returned, severally examined without torture or threatening,[1] did in the end voluntarily and clearly confess the matters abovementioned, and in their confessions fully consent and concur, not only in substance, but in all points, particularities, and circumstances; which confessions appear expressed in their own natural language, testified and subscribed with their own hands; and in open assembly, at the arraignment of Lopez in the Guildhall,[2] were by them confirmed and avouched to Lopez his face; and therewithal are extant, undefaced, the original letters from Count de Fuentes, Secretary Ibarra, and the rest.

And Lopez himself at his first apprehension and examination did indeed deny, and deny with deep and terrible oaths and execrations, the very conferences and treaties with Ferrera or Andrada about the empoisonment. And being demanded, if they were proved against him, what he would say? he answered, *that he would yield himself guilty of the fact intended.* Nevertheless, being afterwards confronted by Ferrera, who constantly maintained to him all that he said, reducing him to the times and places of the said conferences, he confessed the matter; as by his confession in writing, signed with his own hand, appeareth.[3] But then he fell to that slender evasion, as his last refuge, that he meant only to cozen the King of Spain of the money;[4] and in that he continued at his arraignment; when notwithstanding at the first he did retract his own confession; and yet being asked whether he was drawn either by mean of torture or promise of life to make the same confession, he did openly testify that no such means was used towards him.

But the falsehood of this excuse, being an allegation that any traitor may use and provide for himself, is convicted by three notable proofs. The first, that he never opened this matter, neither unto her Majesty, unto whom he had ordinary access, nor to any counsellor of state, to have permission to toll on and inveigle these parties with whom he did treat, if it had been thought so convenient; wherein percase he had opportunity to have done some good service for the further discovery of their

[1] Though Emanuel Louys had been induced by fear of torture in the first instance to dispense with his oath of secrecy, he made no further difficulty, but confessed everything freely and without reserve. See p. 45.

[2] On the 28th of February, 1593-4.

[3] See his confession, 25th February. Harl. MSS. 871. 50.

[4] See his confession, 30th January (p. 34), and again 9th February (p. 35).

secret machinations against her Majesty's life. The second, that he came too late to this shift; having first bewrayed his guilty conscience, in denying those treaties and conferences till they were evidently and manifestly proved to his face. The third, that in conferring with Ferrera about the manner of his assurance,[1] he thought it better to have the money in the hands of such merchants as he should name in Antwerp, than to have it brought into England; declaring his purpose to be, after the fact done, speedily to fly to Antwerp, and there to tarry some time, and so to convey himself to Constantinople;[2] where it is affirmed, that Don Salomon, a Jew in good credit, is Lopez his near kinsman, and that he is greatly favoured by the said Don Salomon: whereby it is evident that Lopez had cast his reckonings upon the supposition of the fact done.

Thus may appear, both how justly this Lopez[3] is condemned for the highest treason that can be imagined; and how by God's marvellous goodness her Majesty hath been preserved. And surely, if a man do duly consider, it is hard to say whether God hath done greater things by her Majesty or for her; if you observe on the one side how God hath ordained her government to break and cross the unjust ambition of the two mighty potentates, the King of Spain and the Bishop of Rome, never so straitly between themselves combined: and on the other side how mightily God hath protected her both against foreign invasion and inward troubles, and singularly against the many secret conspiracies that have been made against her life; thereby declaring to the world that he will indeed preserve that instrument which he hath magnified. But the corruptions of these times are wonderful, when that wars, which are the highest trials of right between princes (that acknowledge no superior jurisdiction), and ought to be prosecuted with all honour, shall be stained and infamed with such foul and inhuman practices. Wherein if so great a king hath been named, the rule of the civil law (which is a rule of common reason) must be remembered; *Frustra legis auxilium implorat, qui in legem committit.* He that hath sought to violate the Majesty royal in the highest degree, cannot claim the pre-eminence thereof to be exempted from just imputation.

[1] On the 30th of October, 1593. Bag. de Sec. p. 286.
[2] Ferrera's confession, 22nd February. Harl. MSS. 871. 41 b. See also, p. 59.
[3] Lopez was condemned on the 28th of February, 1593-4.

4.

Of the use which was made of this paper we have no account nor of the impression made on the Queen by Bacon's professional successes during the preceding term. All we know is that the effect was not decisive in his favour. Though at the end of March the law places were still unfilled, it seems to have been now understood that Coke was to be Attorney. Essex's "uttermost credit, friendship, and authority" had been spent in opposing that resolution, but spent in vain. He had only succeeded in procuring a long delay, which was itself anything but a benefit; and he was content at last to be a suitor on his friend's behalf for that which two months before he had disdained to hear of,—the Solicitorship.[1] In this secondary suit however he seemed to have every prospect of prevailing. Among Bacon's competitors for the Solicitorship, there was none eminent enough to be even talked of as a formidable rival. Among the councillors and courtiers there was none conspicuous enough to have been mentioned by name as opposing him. The list of his declared supporters, on the other hand, included Essex, Burghley, the Lord Keeper, the new Master of the Rolls, the Vice-Chamberlain, and all the Judges,—whose interest was now united in his favour. But though the accessories were so much changed to his advantage, the original and real impediment remained where it was, and as it was. His conduct in the last Parliament had neither been forgotten nor explained nor forgiven; and it must be admitted that his own subsequent behaviour had done nothing either to efface the remembrance or to alter the significance of it. Much as he had lamented the displeasure which it had provoked in the Queen, he had never yet acknowledged it as a fault in himself, and therefore it is but justice to admit that if she had a right to resent it as an offence when it was committed (which I think she had not), she had a right to continue her resentment still, as for an offence which had not been repented of. And to this obstruction in the Queen's will (which I have no doubt was the main hindrance to Bacon's promotion) there was probably added a secret current of opposition from another will as strong as her own—namely Coke's; whose position and reputation and overruling confidence (sweetened as in those days it was with a reverence for the Majesty royal quite sufficient to make it palatable) would give him many opportunities of influencing her judgment in the choice of a law-officer; and who certainly disliked Bacon, and held him cheap both as to ac-

[1] See the next letter, where he writes, "She said none thought you fit for the place but *my Lord Treasurer* and myself." Now, when the *Attorneyship* was in question, she had reminded Essex that Bacon's "own uncle named him *but to a second place*."

quirements and abilities, and I dare say really thought him unfit for the place. Nor must it be forgotten among Bacon's disadvantages that, being still denied access to the Queen, he had no means of speaking for himself.

Under such conditions the suit commenced. How it proceeded the following letters, which need no further elucidation, will show.

The Earl of Essex to Francis Bacon.[1]

Sir,

I have received your letter, and since I have had opportunity to deal freely with the Queen. I have dealt confidently with her, as of a matter wherein I did more labour to overcome her delays than that I did fear her denial. I told her how much you were thrown down with the correction she had already given you; that she might in that point hold herself already satisfied. And because I found that Tanfield had been most propounded to her, I did most disable him. I find the Queen very reserved, staying herself from giving any kind of hope, yet not passionate against you till I grew passionate for you. Then she said that none thought you fit for the place but my lord Treasurer and myself; marry the others must some of them say [so] before us for fear or for flattery. I told her the most and wisest of her Council had delivered their opinions, and preferred you before all men for that place. And if it would please her Majesty to think that whatsoever they said contrary to their own words when they spake without witness, might be as factiously spoken as the other way flatteringly, she should not be deceived. Yet if they had been never for you, but contrarily against you, I thought my credit, joined with the approbation and mediation of her greatest counsellors, might prevail in a greater matter than this; and urged her that though she could not signify her mind to others, I might have a secret promise; wherein I should receive great comfort, as in the contrary great unkindness. She said she neither was persuaded nor would hear of it till Easter, when she might advise with her Council, who were now all absent; and therefore in passion bade me go to bed, if I would talk of nothing else. Wherefore in passion I went away, saying while I was with her I could not but solicit for the cause and the man I so much affected, and therefore I would retire myself till I might be more graciously heard. And so we parted. To-morrow I will go hence of purpose, and on Thursday I will write an expostulating letter to her. That night or upon Friday morning I will be here again, and follow on the same course, stirring a discontentment in her, etc. And so wish you all happiness, and rest

Your most assured friend,

Essex.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 90. Copy: docketed, "Copie de la lre. de mons^{r} le Compte d'Essex a mons^{r} Francois Bacon, le 28 de Mars, 1594." But as the 28th was a Thursday and this cannot have been written later in the week than Tuesday (see the last sentence but one), the true date is probably the 26th.

THE EARL OF ESSEX TO FRANCIS BACON.[1]

Sir,

I have now spoken with the Queen, and I [see] no stay from obtaining a full resolution of that we desire. But the passion she is in by reason of the tales that have been told her against Nicholas Clifford, with whom she is in such rage for a matter which I think you have heard of,[2] it doth put her infinitely out of quiet; and her passionate humour is nourished by some foolish women; else I find nothing to distaste us; for she doth not contradict confidently, which they that know the minds of women say is a sign of yielding. I will tomorrow take more time to deal with her, and will sweeten her with all the art I have to make *benevolum auditorem*. I have already spoken with Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,[3] and will tomorrow speak with the rest. Of Mr. Vice-Chamberlain you may assure yourself; for so much he hath faithfully promised. The exceptions against the competitors I will use tomorrow; for then I do resolve to have a full and large discourse; having prepared the Queen to-night to assign me a time under colour of some such business as I have pretended. In the meantime I must tell you that I do not respect either my absence or my showing a discontentment in going away; for I was received at my return, and I think I shall not be the worse. And for that I am oppressed with multitude of letters that are come, of which I must give the Queen some account tomorrow morning, and therefore desire to be excused for writing no more to-night, to-morrow you shall hear from me again. I wish you what you wish yourself in this and all things else, and rest

Your most affectionate friend,

This Friday at night. ESSEX.

FRANCIS BACON TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.[4]

My Lord,

I thank your Lordship very much for your kind and comfortable letter, which I hope will be followed at hand with another of more assurance. And I must confess this very delay hath gone so near me, as it hath almost overthrown my health. For when I revolved the good memory of my father, the near degree of alliance I stand in to my Lord Treasurer, your Lordship's so signalled and declared favour, the honourable testimony of so many coun-

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 89. Copy: docketed, "le 29me de Mars." Addressed, "To my assured good friend, Mr. Francis Bacon, Esquier."

[2] Some love-affair, probably. On the 5th of April, Anthony Standen tells Anthony Bacon, among other news, that "Sir Nic. Clifford is in the Tower, and his dear darling Drury in the Fleet."—Birch, i. 169.

[3] Sir Thomas Heneage.

[4] Lambeth MSS. 650. 62. Copy: docketed, "Lre. de Monsr Francois Bacon a Monsr le Compte d'Essex, le 30me de Mars, 1593."

sellors, the commendation unlaboured and in sort offered by my Lords the Judges and the Master of the Rolls elect; that I was voiced with great expectation, and (though I say it myself) with the wishes of most men, to the higher place; that I am a man that the Queen hath already done for; and princes, especially her Majesty, loveth to make an end where they begin; and then add hereunto the obscureness and many exceptions to my competitors; when (I say) I revolve all this, I cannot but conclude with myself that no man ever received a more exquisite disgrace. And therefore truly, my Lord, I was determined, and am determined, if her Majesty reject me, this to do. My nature can take no evil ply; but I will by God's assistance, with this disgrace of my fortune, and yet with that comfort of the good opinion of so many honourable and worthy persons, retire myself with a couple of men to Cambridge, and there spend my life in my studies and contemplations, without looking back. I humbly pray your Lordship to pardon me for troubling you with my melancholy. For the matter itself, I commend it to your love. Only I pray you communicate afresh this day with my Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Cecil; and if you esteem my fortune, remember the point of precedency. The objections to my competitors your Lordship knoweth partly. I pray spare them not, not over the Queen, but to the great ones, to show your confidence and to work their distaste. Thus longing exceedingly to exchange troubling your Lordship with serving you, I rest

Your Lordship's,

In most entire and faithful duty,

F. B.

I humbly pray your Lordship I may hear from you sometime this day.

The next day was Easter Sunday. On the following Wednesday Bacon had a long conversation with the Earl at Essex House, where they met after supper. "Yet" (says the reporter,[1] who was present) "I see no conclusion; though the other two" (meaning Egerton and Coke) "have their warrants signed; a thing as much bringing this great man's credit in question as any other he hath managed all this time."

The next letter, which has no date, but appears to have been writ-

[1] A. Standen, 5th April. Lambeth MSS. 650. 111.

ten on the 7th of April, introduces the Lord Keeper (who had formerly stood rather in the way—see Burghley's letter of the 27th of September, p. 257) as a supporter of Bacon's claims; at the request, it would seem, of Sir Thomas Egerton.

FRANCIS BACON TO THE LORD KEEPER PUCKERING.[1]

My very good Lord,

Sir Thomas Egerton failing of your Lordship being newly gone, sent his letter to me to see conveyed unto you, which I send enclosed; desiring your Lordship, according to your kind affection, to make the best use thereof for my furtherance. And I pray your Lordship to call to remembrance my Lord Treasurer's kind course, who affirmed directly all the rest to be unfit. And because *vis unita fortior*, I pray your Lordship to take a time with the Queen when my Lord Treasurer is present. Thus in hope to-morrow will bring forth some good effect, I rest,

Your Lordship's in all humble duty and service,

FR. BACON.

That nothing should be done without Burghley's presence was a point upon which Bacon laid particular stress. Unfortunately Burghley was just about this time seized with an illness[2] which confined him to his room. It was necessary therefore to suspend all further proceedings in Bacon's behalf till he were well enough to come to Court again. The day on which the next letter was written was probably the 'to-morrow' of the last.

FRANCIS BACON TO LORD KEEPER PUCKERING.[3]

My very good Lord,

Because I understand your Lordship remaineth at Court all this day, and that my Lord of Essex writeth to me that his Lordship cometh to London, I thought good to remember your good Lordship, and to request you, as I touched it in my last, that if my Lord Treasurer be absent, your Lordship would forbear to fall into my business with her Majesty, lest it mought receive some foil before the time when it should be resolutely dealt in. And so commending myself to your good favour, I

[1] Harl. MSS. 6996. 101. Original: own hand.
[2] A. Standen to A. Bacon, 7th April. Birch, i. 169.
[3] Harl. MSS. 6996, f. 97. Original: own hand.

most humbly take my leave. From Gray's Inn, this 8th of April, 1594.

Your Lordship's in all humble duty and service,

FR. BACON.

Burghley's illness confined him for several days; during which Egerton and Coke had their patents for their respective offices made out and delivered (10th April): no resolution being taken as to the Solicitorship.

All this time, the Queen had been so far from holding out any definite hope to Bacon, except such as he might derive from the hopes entertained for him by his more sanguine friends, that she had not even consented to admit him to an interview. The privilege of "access" seems still to have been as far off as the Solicitorship. And it was probably in the hope of overcoming at length this preliminary obstacle, that he was recommended on the 19th of April to go down to Greenwich, where the Queen had been keeping her Easter; which he did, as we learn from the following letter.

FRANCIS BACON TO LORD KEEPER PUCKERING.

My very good Lord,

I was wished to be here ready in expectation of some good effect; and therefore I commend my fortune to your Lordship's kind and honourable furtherance. My affection inclineth me to be much [your] Lordship's; and my course and way, in all reason and policy for myself, leadeth me to the same dependence; hereunto if there shall be joined your Lordship's obligation in dealing strongly for me as you have begun, no man can be more yours. A timorous man is everybody's, and a covetous man is his own. But if your Lordship consider my nature, my course, my friends, my opinion with her Majesty (if this eclipse of her favour were past), I hope you will think I am no unlikely piece of wood to shape you a true servant of. My present thankfulness shall be as much as I have said. I humbly take my leave. From Greenwich, this 19th of April, 1594.

Your Lordship's true humble servant,

FR. BACON.

Whatever the "good effect" may have been, in expectation of which he went, he seems to have come back without success. Term

[1] Harl. MSS. 6996. 99. Original: own hand.

had just begun, and he had a cause to argue the next week; probably the great cause of Perpetuities, which came on this term for a second hearing before all the Judges in the Exchequer; Bacon appearing for the defendant;[1] and I suppose it was in preparations for this that he was engaged, when he received the two following communications; the first from Essex's secretary, the second from Essex himself.

THOMAS SMYTH TO FRANCIS BACON.[2]

Sir,

My Lord being in the midst of the solemnity of this supper, and so detained from writing himself, hath commanded me to signify thus much unto you: that her Majesty hath promised Mr. Vice-Chamberlain on Wednesday or Thursday next to speak with you; and therefore his Lordship adviseth you by a letter to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain to take knowledge of it and to thank him for the good offices performed in your behalf. Another point that he commendeth to your remembrance is, that you omit not to do that which you intended to do on Saturday next, because her Majesty is made acquainted therewith, and, as I think his Lordship said to me, expecteth it; and my Lord and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain will be there present.

Thus having delivered you his sense in his own words as near as I can, I wish you all good, will be ready to do you any service, and rest,

At your commandment,

THO. SMYTH.

From Greenwich, this Monday at night.

THE EARL OF ESSEX TO FRANCIS BACON.[3]

Sir,

The Queen did yesternight fly the tilt, and I do wish, if it be no impediment to the cause you do handle tomorrow, you did attend again this afternoon. I will be at the Court in the evening, and so will Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, so as if you fail before we come, yet afterwards I doubt not but he or I shall bring you together.

[1] "This case was argued many times at the bar in the King's Bench on both sides; and because the case was difficult and of great consequence and importance, it was thought necessary that all the Justices of England should openly, in the Exchequer Chamber, upon solemn argument, show their opinion in this case. And afterwards (Ter. Hil. 36 Eliz.) this case was argued in the Exchequer Chamber, before all the Justices of England, by Hugh Wiat, *ex parte querent'*, and by Coke, the Queen's Solicitor-General, *ex parte defend'*. And afterward, in Easter Term following, by Rob. Atkinson, *ex parte quer.*, and by Francis Bacon, *ex parte def.*; but I did not hear their arguments."—Coke's Reports, i. 121. For a report of the argument itself, see Works, vol. vii. p. 615.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 650. 115. Copy. "Le 22me d'Avril, 1594."

Lambeth MSS. 650. 109. Original: own hand. No date; but docketed, "Recevé le 24me d'Avrill, 1594." The 24th was Wednesday.

This I write in haste, because I would have no opportunity omitted in this matter of access. I wish to you as to myself, and rest,

Your most affectionate friend,

ESSEX.

5.

This matter of access was no doubt a point of great importance to Bacon; for it is impossible to read the history of this tedious and vexatious negotiation without suspecting some want of judgment in those who managed it, and wishing that he could have said a few words for himself in his own way. The compliment with which Essex usually concluded his letters to his friends, "I wish to you as to myself," was in this case, I have no doubt, a true and sincere expression of what he felt. I have no doubt that he not only wished but *acted* for Bacon as he would have acted for himself. But in that very thing lay the mischief; for he did not act wisely for either. What particular mistake he made on this occasion we are not informed; but the next thing we hear is that both he and the Vice-Chamberlain, whose joint influence was to have brought about the reconciliation between Bacon and the Queen, were themselves under a cloud; and Bacon was fain to request his other friends to use their influence, not to expedite but to delay, the appointment of a Solicitor; for a resolution taken just then would probably have gone in favour of some one else. This we learn from a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, dated a week after the last.

FRANCIS BACON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.[1]

My right honourable good Cousin,

Your Honour in your wisdom doth well perceive that my access at this time is grown desperate, in regard of the hard terms that as well the Earl of Essex as Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, who were to have been the means thereof, stand in with her Majesty, according to their occasions. And therefore I am only to stall upon that point of delaying and preserving the matter entire till a better constellation. Which, as it is not hard, as I conceive, considering the French business and the instant progress, etc., so I commend in special to your Honour's care, who in sort assured me thereof, and upon [whom] now in my Lord of Essex's absence I have only to rely. And if it be needful, I humbly

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 125. Original: own hand.

pray you to move my Lord your father to lay his sure hand to the same delay. And so I wish you all increase of honour. From Gray's Inn, this 1st of May, 1594.

Your Honour's poor kinsman
In faithful service and duty,
FRANCIS BACON.

Then follows Sir Robert. Cecil's answer, written on the same page, in his own hand.

Cousin,

I do think nothing cut the throat more of your present access then the Earl's being somewhat troubled at this time. For the delaying, I think it not hard, neither shall there want my best endeavour to make it easy, of which I hope you shall not need to doubt by the judgment which I gather of divers circumstances confirming my opinion. I protest I suffer with you in mind, that you are thus yet gravelled; but time will founder all your competitors and set you on your feet, or else I have little understanding.

A few days after, Essex himself wrote to Puckering, to the same effect.[1]

My Lord,

My short stay at the Court made me fail of speaking with your Lordship. Therefore I must write that which myself had told you. That is, that your Lordship will be pleased to forbear pressing for a Solicitor; since now there is no cause towards the end of a term to call for it, and because the absence of Mr. Bacon's friends may be much to his disadvantage. I wish your Lordship all happiness, and rest,

Your Lordship's very assured to be commanded,
ESSEX.

Wanstead, this 4th of May.

After remaining in eclipse about three weeks, Essex reappeared at Court, and found the Queen ready to be reconciled. It appears that he had been unwell, a thing not unfrequent with him; and he knew how to use his illnesses as means of reconciliation. It was probably upon this consideration that, instead of sending or waiting for him, she now paid him a visit herself. The result of the interview he shall tell in his own words.

[1] Harl. MSS. vol. 6996. 140. Original: own hand.

Earl of Essex to Francis Bacon.[1]

Sir,

I wrote not to you till I had had a second conference with the Queen, because the first was spent only in compliments. She in the beginning excepted all business. This day she hath seen me again. After I had followed her humour in talking[2] of those things which she would entertain me with, I told her in my absence I had written to Sir Robert Cecil, to solicit her to call you to that place which all the world had named you to; and now being here, I must follow it myself; for I knew what service I should do her in procuring you the place; and she knew not how great comfort I should take in it. Her answer in playing jest was that she came not to me for that; I should talk of those things when I came to her, not when she came to me; the term was coming and she would advise. I would have replied, but she stopped my mouth. To-morrow or the next day I will go to her, and then this excuse will be taken away. When I know more, you shall hear more. And so I end, full of pain in my head, which makes me write thus confusedly.

Your most affectionate friend,

Essex.

His next report, if the dockets are to be trusted (which are not always correct), was written five days later, and runs thus:—

The Same to the Same.[3]

Sir,

I went yesterday to the Queen through the galleries in the morning, afternoon, and at night. I had long speech with her of you; wherein I urged both the point of your extraordinary sufficiency, proved to me not only by your last argument,[4] but by the opinion of all men I spake withal, and the point of mine own satisfaction, which I protested to her should be exceeding great, if for all her unkindnesses and discomforts past she would do this one thing for my sake.

To the first she answered, that the greatness of your friends, as of my Lord Treasurer and myself, did make men give a more favourable testimony than else they would do, thinking thereby they pleased us. And that she did acknowledge you had a great wit, and an excellent gift of speech, and much other good learning. But in law she rather thought you could make show to the uttermost of your knowledge, than that you were deep. To the second, she said she had showed her mislike of the suit as well as I

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 122. Copy: docketed, "Copie de la lre. de Monsr le Compte a Monsr Francois Bacon, le 13me de May, 1594."

[2] A blank is left between these words in the MS., as for a word which the transcriber could not read.

[3] Lambeth MSS. 650, f. 123. Copy: docketed, "Copie de la lre. de Monsr le Compte d'Essex a Monsr Francois Bacon, le 18me de May, 1594."

[4] In Chudleigh's case, probably. See Coke's Reports, i. 121.

had done my affection in it; and that if there were a yielding, it was fitter to be of my side. I then added that this was an answer with which she might deny me all things if she did not grant them at the first, which was not her manner to do. But her Majesty had made me suffer and give way to her in many things else, which all I should bear not only with patience but with great contentment, if she would but grant my humble suit in this one. And for the other pretence of the approbation given you upon partiality, that all the world, lawyers, judges, and all, could not be partial to you; for some wished[1] you were crossed for their own interest and some for their friends; but yet all did yield to your merit. She did in this as she useth in all; went from a denial to a delay, and said when the Council were all here she would think of it; and there was no haste in determining of the place. To which I answered, that my sad heart had need of hasty comfort, and therefore her Majesty must pardon me if I were hasty and importunate in it. When they come we shall see what will be done; and I wish you all happiness, and rest,

Your most affectionate friend,

ESSEX.

6.

In this position the matter rested for ten days more, when the approach of another term brought the Council together again, and brought also to Bacon a friend at Court who was likely to prove a valuable one. This was Foulke Greville, the friend of Sir Philip Sydney, and kinsman to Essex; a man of great accomplishments, and one who "had much and private access to Queen Elizabeth."[2] He shall introduce himself.

FOULKE GREVILLE TO FRANCIS BACON.[3]

Mr. Francis Bacon,

As my heart was full of your praise, so have I as freely delivered it to the Queen. When I see you, you shall know the particulars. In the meantime believe me her Highness was more gracious to you. Awake your friends. I have dealt with Sir John Fortescue and my Lord of Essex by letter. Neither will I neglect the rest for you. And so in haste, I commit you to God.

Your assured kind friend,

FOULKE GREVILLE.

I thought ere now to have come to you. To-morrow I will in the afternoon without fail.

This was two or three days before the term, at which time questions of this kind were usually considered and settled. Meanwhile

[1] This word is blotted in the MS. [2] Bacon's Apophthegms, Works vii. 158.
[3] Lambeth MSS. 650. 131. Original: own hand. Docketed, "Rec[d] 27 May, 1594."

Bacon himself appears to have remained passive. He had not been at Court during the month, and the only letters of his which have been preserved relate to other matters. His patience was in fact wearing out, as well it might. "Touching my brother," Anthony writes to his mother on the 17th of May, "we are both resolute that in case he be not placed betwixt this and the next term, never to make any more words of it."[1] And I think it probable that he would really have taken this occasion to cast himself loose and fulfil the resolution intimated in his letter to Essex of the 30th of March, if the Queen (who meant to punish but not to lose him) had not contrived to renew his lease of patience by employing him in a service of importance. But before I come to this I must give his two next letters, which sufficiently explain themselves.

Francis Bacon to Mr. Conisby.[2]

Mr. Conisby,

There is remaining, as I think you know, at Mr. Holiland's house at Northall (?), a near kinsman of mine, Mr. Robert Bacon, who hath received sundry unneighbourly and contentious usages by one Huit, a dweller in the same town. Huit hath uttered both threatening and reproachful speeches towards him; and some other lewd persons, by his instigation as it is thought, have offered sundry quarrelsome and despiteful abuses to him; in which regard, though I am [my]self but a stranger unto you, yet because I know your father was beholding to my father, I did assure myself that at my [3] of request you would deserve my friendship in taking some pains to examine such disorders and take order, by the good behaviour or otherwise, that my kinsman may live in better quiet, being I know of so honest and civil a disposition as he will justly provoke no man. And this I heartily pray you to do, as a matter which I would accept as done to myself, and being accordingly ready to requite in any occasion of yours. And so good Mr. Conisbie, in some haste I desire your further acquaintance, and commit you to God. From Gray's Inn, this 17th of May, 1594.

Your very loving friend,

Fr. Bacon.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 124.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 650. 228. Copy: docketed, "Copie de la lre. de Mons[r] Francois Bacon a Mons[r] Conisbie, en l'endroit de Mons[r] Robert Bacon, le 17[me] de May, 1594."

[3] Blank left in MS.

FRANCIS BACON TO HIS MOTHER.[1]

My humble duty remembered, I was sorry to understand by Goodman Gotheram that your Ladyship did find any weakness; which I hope was but caused by the season and weather, which waxeth more hot and faint. I was not sorry, I assure your Ladyship, that you came not up, in regard that the stirring at this time of year, and the place where you should be not being very open nor fresh, mought rather hurt your Ladyship than otherwise. And for anything to be passed to Mr. Trot, such is his kindness as he demandeth it not; and therefore as I am to thank your Ladyship for your willingness, so it shall not be needful but upon such an occasion as may be without your trouble; which [may] the rather be because I purpose, God willing, to run down, and it be but for a day, to visit your Ladyship and to do my duty to you. In the meantime I pray your Ladyship, as you have done the part of a good Christian and saint of God in the comfortable preparing for your end, so nevertheless I pray deny not your body the due, nor your children and friends and the Church of God which hath use of you, but that you enter not into further conceit than is cause, and withal use all the comforts and helps that are good for your health and strength. In truth I heard Sir John Scidmore often complain, after his quartain had left him, that he found such a heaviness and swelling, specially under his ribs, that he thought he was buried under earth half from the waist; and therefore that accident is but incident. Thus I commend your Ladyship to God's good preservation. From Gray's Inn, this 9th of June, 1594.

Your Ladyship's most obedient son,

FR. BACON.

It may be I shall have occasion, because nothing is yet done in the choice of a Solicitor, to visit the Court this vacation; which I have not done this month's space: in which respect, because carriage [of] stuff to and fro spoileth it, I would be glad of that light bed of striped stuff which your Ladyship hath, if you have not otherwise disposed it.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 140. Copy: docketed, "Copie de la lre. de Mons^r Francois Bacon a Madame, le 9^me de Juin, 1594."

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1594, JUNE—DECEMBER. ÆTAT. 34.

1.

FROM the postscript of the last letter, it is clear that up to that time, which was the end of the first week in Trinity Term, the Queen had not held out any positive encouragement to Bacon, nor done anything to sweeten his disappointment. She did not think fit however to try him with another long vacation passed in total eclipse, lest his hope should go quite out; which was not her intention. Before the term was over therefore, she let a ray from the light of her countenance fall upon him.

The conspiracy of Lopez had been detected; himself and his two confederates had been tried, found guilty, and after remaining for three months under sentence of death, at last executed. But there were more conspiracies behind, the bottom of which had not yet been fathomed. The authors and contrivers did not themselves venture within reach, but corresponded with some persons in the north of England; their plot being to procure the assassination of the Queen, and at the same instant to raise a rebellion. Two of the parties to this correspondence—Henry Walpole and Edward Lyngen—had been taken and sent up to London, where they had already undergone several examinations.[1] On the 13th of June, Lyngen was examined again in the Tower,—I think for the fifth time; and on this occasion Bacon's name appears among the signatures. It seems therefore that though the Queen still refused to speak with him, she had at last relented so far as to employ him; a fact of the more importance because I find no evidence of his having been employed before in any service of this nature. Other signs of relenting she showed in speeches to his friends, witness the following letter from Foulke Greville.

[1] State Paper Office: Domestic, 1594. April 27; May 3 and 18; June 4.

FOULKE GREVILLE TO FRANCIS BACON.[1]

Mr. Francis Bacon,

Saturday was my first coming to the Court, from whence I departed again as soon as I had kiss'd her Majesty's hands, because I had no lodging nearer than my uncle's, which is four miles off.

This day I came thither to dinner, and waiting for to speak with the Queen, took occasion to tell how I met you as I passed through London; and among other speeches how you lamented your misfortune to me, that remained as a withered branch of her roots, which she had cherished and made to flourish in her service. I added what I thought of your worth, and the expectation for all this that the world had of her princely goodness towards you; which it pleased her Majesty to confess that indeed you began to frame very well, insomuch as she saw an amends in those little supposed errors, avowing the respect she carried to the dead, with very exceeding gracious inclination towards you. Some comparisons there fell out besides, which I leave till we meet, which I hope shall be this week. It pleased her withal to tell of the jewel you offered by Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, which she had refused, yet with exceeding praise. I marvelled that as a prince she would refuse those homages of poor subjects, because it did include a final sentence of despair; but either I deceive myself, or she was resolved to take it; and the conclusion was very kind and gracious. So as I will lay £100 to £50 that you shall be her Solicitor, and my friend; in which mind and for which mind I commend you to God and man. From the Court this Monday in haste,

Your true friend to be commanded by you,

FOULKE GREVILLE.

We cannot tell whether she come to Hampton[2] on Friday or stay here. I am much absent for want of lodging; wherein my own man hath only been to blame.

Nor were these favourable symptoms altogether fallacious: for within two or three weeks after the date of this letter, we find Bacon endeavouring to borrow a sum of money to furnish him for a journey towards the north, which he was to undertake immediately, upon some important business of the Queen's; Anthony assisting him as usual with all his credit and interest, and offering to pledge his own estate as a security for the repayment of the loan.[3] What this business was, is not expressly stated; but on comparing the time with the other circumstances before and after, I have no doubt that it related to this new conspiracy, the seat of which being somewhere in the north, it was necessary to send some one down to study it on the

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 132. Original?: docketed, "le 17me de June, 1594."

[2] Qy. whether *Hampton* or *Haveringe*?

[3] See his letters to Alderman Spencer of the 5th and 12th of July, 1594. Lambeth MSS. 649, f. 138.

spot. Bacon set out on the 18th or 19th of July, but was stopped on his way; as we shall see.

In the meantime I must not omit (though it is but a bye matter) two short letters of recommendation addressed on the 3rd of July to certain authorities in Oxford, in favour of a French gentleman, a friend of his brother's, who was going to see the Commemoration.

The first is to the Provost of some College, not named, by whom he had been entertained there himself on some similar occasion.

Mr. Provost,[1]

I have proved your friendly entertainment in myself so much as I doubt not to commend my friend unto you, especially a stranger, whom in courtesy and humanity his own condition commendeth. He is son to a personage that beareth great dignity in France, and whose father was familiar and officious (I speak it preserving the quality of the man) to my brother during his abode in those parts. And surely the young gentleman, by that I could perceive by an hour's entertaining discourse with him, hath much pretty variety of learning and an humour of a scholar. In which regard I know he will take much pleasure in your exercises there: which that he may do with the more ease and respect, I commend him again to your courtesy and care. The like I have written to Mr. Proctor who reigneth; and so with mine own hearty commendations I leave you to God's preservation. From Gray's Inn, in haste, the 3rd of July, 1594.

Your friend in very good affection.

His name is Mr. Gourgues.

The other is to the Proctor, who reigned in 1594.

Mr. Proctor,[2]

Since during your reign it is the hap of a friend of mine upon humour of curiosity to visit your University now in the blossoming time, I pray you show in one both your humanity towards a stranger of good birth and quality and your kindness towards myself. His father was in great conjunction of friendship with my brother during his abode in France. I pray you pour your office upon him, that he may be well placed and hear and see:

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 154. Copy. Anthony Blencowe was Provost of Oriel, Henry Robinson of Queen's.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 650. 155. Copy.

for it is a fine gentleman in the humour of a scholar. So in haste I commit you to God's favour. From Gray's Inn, this 3rd of July, 1594.

Your very assured friend.

His name is Mr. Gourgues.

2.

Bacon had proceeded on his "northern journey" as far as Huntingdon, when he was attacked with some illness, which, though of no great consequence in itself, made it impossible for him to travel.[1] This we learn from the following letter from himself to the Queen.

FRANCIS BACON TO THE QUEEN.[2]

Most gracious and admirable Sovereign,

As I do acknowledge a providence of God towards me that findeth it expedient for me *tolerare jugum in juventute meâ,* so this present arrest of me by his divine Majesty from your Majesty's service is not the least affliction that I have proved. And I hope your Majesty doth conceive that nothing under mere impossibility could have detained me from earning so gracious a vail as it pleased your Majesty to give me. But your Majesty's service by the grace of God shall take no lack thereby [and thanks to God, it hath light upon him, that may be best spared]; only the discomfort is mine; who nevertheless have the private comfort that in the time I have been made acquainted with this service it hath been my hap to stumble upon somewhat unseen, which may import the same [as I made my Lord Keeper acquainted before my going]. So leaving it to God to make a

[1] The nature of the complaint may be partly inferred from a letter from Nicholas Trott to Lady Bacon, written in Latin, and dated the 3rd of August. "Morbum istum seu potius molestiam (nam morborum, et præcipue istius cui is maxime obnoxius est, propria et efficacissima medicina sunt *αἱμορῤῥοΐδες*) nihil est quod inutiliter pharmacis exasperet, et corpusculum tenue intempestive vexet; quod etsi is pro sua prudentia optime videat, a me tamen si opus est admonebitur."—Harl. MSS. 871. 80.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 650. 156. Original draft: in his own hand. The words within brackets are interlined. At p. 141 of the same volume there is a copy of the letter in the hand of A. Bacon's amanuensis. It seems that he had written to his brother at the same time, whose answer, dated the 22nd, begins thus:—"Good brother, I am no less sorry than yourself of your pain and the forced interruption of your journey. My only particular present comfort is grounded upon the good proof you have generally given of your Christian wise patience under more important accidents; the lively spring whereof I rest assured with God's grace cannot be drawn dry."—Lambeth MSS. 650. 148.

good ending of a hard beginning [and most humbly craving your Majesty's pardon for presuming to trouble your Majesty], I recommend your sacred Majesty to God's tenderest preservation. From Huntingdon, this 20th of July, 1594.

Your sacred Majesty's,
in most humble obedience and devotion,
Fr. Bacon.

His illness did not confine him long, though long enough to prevent him from proceeding on his mission; and being so near Cambridge he made use of the opportunity to take his degree of Master of Arts; which was conferred upon him in a special congregation, the usual exercises and ceremonies being dispensed with, on the 27th of July.[1] But we have no further news of the visit: and by the end of the month we find him in London again, and well.

3.

Being thus interrupted in the prosecution of the particular case, his thoughts would naturally turn to the general question—whether better measures might not be taken for encountering at their source those conspiracies against the Queen's life, of which every year brought forth a fresh one. Among the papers at Lambeth there are two rough drafts in his handwriting which seem to have been parts of a lost treatise on that subject; the produce probably of that little interval of leisure which his illness forced upon him. One is docketed by himself "The first fragments of a discourse touching intelligence and the safety of the Queen's person," and cannot well have been written earlier than January, or later than September, 1594. It runs thus:—

The first remedy in my poor opinion is that against which as I conceive least exception can be taken, as a thing without controversy honourable and politic; and that is the reputation of good intelligence. I say not only good intelligence, but the reputation and fame thereof. For I see that where booths are set for watching thievish places there is no more robbing. And though no doubt the watchmen many times are asleep or away, yet that is more than the thief knoweth, so as the empty booth is strength and safeguard enough. So likewise if there be sown an opinion

[1] Extract from Mr. Ingram's book, in Blackbourne, vol. i. p. 217.

abroad that her Majesty hath much secret intelligence, and that all is full of spies and false brethren, the fugitives will grow into such a mutual jealousy and suspicion one of another, as they will not have the confidence to conspire together, not knowing whom to trust, and thinking all practice bootless, as that which is assured to be discovered. And to this purpose (to speak reverently as becometh me), as I do not doubt but that those honourable counsellors to whom it doth appertain do carefully and sufficiently take order that her Majesty receive good intelligence; so yet, under correction, methinks it is not done with that glory and note to the world which was in Mr. Secretary Walsingham's time. And in this case as was said *opinio veritate major*.

The second remedy I deliver with less assurance, as that which is more removed from the compass of mine understanding; and that is to treat and negotiate with the King of Spain or Archduke Ernest, who resides in the place where these conspiracies are most forged, upon the point of the law of nations; upon which kind of points princes enemies may with honour negotiate; viz. that contrary to the same law of nations and the sacred dignity of kings and the honour of arms, certain of her Majesty's subjects (if it be not thought meet to impeach any of his ministers) refuged in his dominions have conspired and practised assassination against her Majesty's person.

Here the paper ends; nor is there anything to show that there was ever any more of it. The last paragraph fixes the date of the composition between the 30th of January, 1593-4, when Archduke Ernest entered upon the government of the Low Countries,[1] and the early part of September, when Elizabeth applied to him for a passport for a messenger, whom she proposed to send "with the avowed purpose of expostulating with him the wicked practices of the Spanish king's ministers and her Majesty's rebels in going about to take her Majesty's life by poisonings and murderings,"[2]—which being the very step that Bacon in this paper advises, must be supposed to have been taken subsequently to it, whether in consequence or not.

Whoever was the author of it, it brought no good effect except that of putting the Archduke in the wrong. For though he sent the passport, he accompanied it with a letter so little respectful that

[1] Art de Vérifier Dates. Birch, in his note on this passage, says *June*, 1594.
[2] See Wright's Eliz. ii. 479; compared with Birch's Negotiations, p. 15.

Elizabeth broke off the negotiation at once; and resolved "by more public manner to declare it to the world how far the said king was directly to be touched in that foul and wicked practice." And shortly after was published the "true report of sundry horrible conspiracies, etc.," which I have already mentioned in connexion with Bacon's report of the Lopez case, and which differs from it in this respect, that whereas the object of Bacon's paper was to explain the fact and the evidence, the object of this was to fix upon the King of Spain the imputation of being at the bottom of it. "The Lord Treasurer Burghley (says Coke in a MS. note on the titlepage of the copy now in the British Museum) thought best to rely principally upon the confessions of the delinquents, without any inferences or arguments;" and adds, "this book was never answered to my knowledge; and this is the best kind of publication."

The other rough draft is on a separate sheet, and is docketed, also by Bacon himself, "The first copy of my discourse touching the safety of the Queen's person." But this docket appears to have been written on the back of the last sheet of the bundle; which would be on the outside when the papers were folded up; and the rest have slipped out and been lost. For the only sheet now remaining contains nothing but the concluding paragraph, which runs thus:—

"These be the principal remedies I could think of for extirpating the principal cause of those conspiracies, by the breaking the nest of those fugitive traitors, and the filling them full of terror, despair, jealousy, and revolt. And it is true I thought of some other remedies, which because in mine own conceit I did not so well allow, I therefore do forbear to express. And so likewise I have thought and thought again of the means to stop and divert as well the attempts of violence as poison in the performance and execution. But not knowing how my travel may be accepted, being the unwarranted wishes of a private man, I leave; humbly praying her Majesty's pardon if in the zeal of my simplicity I have roved at things above my aim."

4.

It is a pity that more of this treatise has not been preserved, for the discussion of the question would have given a livelier and juster idea of the real conditions of the time than any modern narrator can supply: which conditions, if we would form a true judgment of the men who had to deal with the business of that day, it is very

necessary that we should both know and remember. To condemn the intercepting of letters as immoral; to show how the practice of examining suspected persons privately upon interrogatories might be abused into a means of ensnaring the innocent; to prefer the escape of ten guilty to the suffering of one not guilty: all this is natural, and requires no great virtue in an Englishman of the nineteenth century. But we must not forget that even to an Englishman of the nineteenth century such doctrines are natural only in the case of crimes by which none of the great interests of society are supposed to be endangered; upon the *prevention* of which nothing vital is felt to depend. For even now cases occur occasionally when the *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat* dispenses with our ordinary rules of evidence. Even now, if every year brought forth an attempt under the auspices of Rome and Austria to assassinate the Queen; and if we really believed that upon the assassination of the Queen would follow the loss of Protestantism and Habeas Corpus; we should be less content to allow the attempter ten chances of impunity against one of punishment. For Austria put Spain, and such was in Queen Elizabeth's time the simple historical fact. What mighty interests were believed to hang upon her life may be inferred from the number and pertinacity of the attempts that were made to take it. And when we see what deep preparations and what insidious methods were for that purpose resorted to, together with the manner in which they were actually defeated, we cannot but admit that without large powers rigorously used by her Council her life would not have been safe for a day. Nor is the remembrance of these facts more essential to a just appreciation of the character of the Government than to a right apprehension of the duties of private subjects. Feeling how deep an interest we still have in Bacon's other labours and how little in these, we naturally exclaim, what a pity that one who might have been devoting his time to our business should have wasted so much of it upon his own! But let us not forget what that business was. "To serve the Queen in place" (for that was the condition upon which alone he could have pursued the vocation of a lawyer with satisfaction to himself) was nothing less than to assist in the preservation of the State from imminent surrounding perils, in the warding off of which not his own age only but all succeeding ages, ours as much as any, had a deep interest. I do not say that the defeat of our enemies could not have been accomplished without his help: it was but little he was allowed to do, and the danger passed notwithstanding. But I say that it depended upon him *among the rest*, and that to desire a forward post in such a service was natural to a man who felt equal to the duties of it and anxious for the issue. No one

who saw the times from his point of view could possibly think such an employment unworthy of him; for no one could think that it was such service as any other man could have performed equally well. To secure at once the detection of the guilty, the acquittal of the innocent, the quieting of public fears, the satisfaction of a Protestant majority justly irritated, and the clear vindication of the Government against suspicion of injustice towards the Catholic minority, was a task requiring the rarest combination of sagacity, prudence, patience, candour, temperance, and fortitude; and many illustrations might be found in the annals of Elizabeth's reign of great inconveniences traceable directly to the imperfect performance of it. Elizabeth was not nearly so well provided with counsel now as she had been. Walsingham was gone; Burghley was nearly worn out, and frequently disabled for business; Robert Cecil, though very acute, dexterous, and industrious, and for so young a man well practised, had more of craft than wisdom; Essex was only twenty-seven years old, quite new in business, naturally impetuous and governed by casual impulses, and ambitious of greatness rather in war than at the council-board; of Cobham we know but little; Ralegh was out of favour and away; there was no Solicitor-General; and Coke, who was now the principal champion of the Crown in the courts of criminal justice, where its most hazardous battle had to be fought, was impatient, intemperate, offensive, overbearing, and (for all his subtlety and legal skill) had no genius either for discovering the truth so that he might choose an unassailable position, or for maintaining it in such a manner as to carry with him the sympathies of a popular audience: for his great errors in this kind, which are commonly admitted, but imputed to the servility of his youth, are in my opinion more truly attributable to wilfulness of temper and defect of understanding. In such circumstances, who can say that Bacon, being called on to assist in the investigation of a secret and extensive conspiracy of which no one yet knew either the centre or the circumference, ought to have declined the task and retired with a couple of men to philosophize at Cambridge?

From this task his illness, though it prevented him from proceeding with the special business on which he had been dispatched, did not otherwise absolve him. On his return to London at the end of July he found the Council busy with the examination of persons implicated in the plot,—Essex and Cobham bearing a principal part. And it was not long before he was himself employed again as an examiner.[1]

[1] See a list of "names of persons diversely charged;" dated 16th August, 1594; where, opposite to the name *Henry Petit*, is written, "He is already committed, and to be examined by Mr. Bacon and Waad."—S. P. O.: Domestic, 1604.

5.

He found leisure however to pay his mother, who was at this time suffering more than usually from anxieties and jealousies, a flying visit at Gorhambury. The peculiar condition of her mind and spirits will partly appear from a letter which she sent after him on his return to London. But we have means of getting a still clearer view of her. We have seen her as she appeared to Captain Allen on a first interview, and as she exhibits herself in her own letters. But she is a person worth studying from all sides, and therefore I shall now show her as she appeared to her household.

Edward Spencer, a nephew of the Alderman, was a servant of Anthony Bacon's; in what particular capacity I do not know; but he had been employed at Gorhambury, and had scholarship enough to report his troubles to his master,—more faithfully perhaps than a more practised penman would have done. His first letter has no date, but seems to have been written towards the end of July, 1594.[1]

My humble duty remembered unto your good Worship. I thought good to write unto you to satisfy you how unquiet my Lady is with all her household. Edward Yates sent a grænen[2] (?) bitch to Redbourn, and Mr. Lawson sent her to me to keep. And as soon as my Lady did see her, she sent me word she should be hanged. Now I had thought to sent her to kepein[3] (?). Now by-and-by she sent word by Cros (?) that if I did not make her away she should not sleep in her bed; so indeed I hung her up; whereat she was very angry, and said I was fransey, and bade me go home to my master and make him a fool, I should make none of her. 'There is a company of ye: I marvel where he picked ye out. There is Mr. Lawson, who have gotten away my brewer, and your master together: but he shall hear of it one day. My comen[4] shall be served when your master and the brewer will.' The bitch was good for nothing, else I would not a hung her. My Lady do not speak to me as yet. I will give none offence to make her angry; but nobody can please her long together. Thus not troubling your Worship any further, I rest, praying for your Worship's health with my daily prayer.

Your servant to command,

EDWARD SPENCER.

On the 31st of July he writes again:—[5]

My humble duty first remembered unto your Worship; these may be to let you understand my Lady is in good health, and very glad to hear

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 151. Original: docketed, "Lre. de Edward Spencer a Monsr, le de Juillet, 1594."
[2] Probably *grewnd*, greyhound. See Nares. [3] *keeping?*
[4] *commons?* [5] Lambeth MSS. 650. 152. Original.

of the return of Mr. Francis and of his good health; and saith that they were not his friends that did procure him that journey, no though it were my Lord of Essex himself. I did tell her your Worship was minded to send to the fair to buy some horses, and that your Worship had sent down what money you could spare by Mr. Lawson and me. Well, saith she, let him do as he will, he shall have none of me. He have undone me, and nobody else but he.—Then I made bold and said, Madam, I hope you hold it well bestowed; for my master hath geten great experience and great worship both within the land and without.—She saith, I hold it well bestowed! but I know not how vainly it have been spent. But I am sure he have geten a weak body of his own and is diseased in the meantime.—Now my master saith he is as well contented to be as he is as many noblemen at the Court which spend all that they can and live in discredit.—With that she sigheth, and pray for you that the Lord's holy spirit may guide you. I did tell her your Worship would a written to her, but the Scottish gentleman did come in the meantime. And she saith, No, no, it is no matter, I do not care.—My Lady did ask me how many horses you did mean to buy: and I told her four or five.—My sons they be vain-glorious; but they will leave it one day.—I told her of Mr. Trot's horse, how he was broke-winded. And my Lady saith, Crossby shall hear of it; but if he could be come by again, Crossby would give four pound for him again. Now for the brewer, I do not hear my Lady say anything, not as yet. Thus I leave your Worship to the Lord, this last of July; desiring God to bless your Worship with increase of health of body and soul, with increase of worship and all things needful for your Worship.

Your servant to command for ever,

EDWARD SPENCER.

A fortnight after, he sent another report:—

My humble duty first remembered to your good Worship.[1] I thought good to write unto you to sartey[2] you of my Lady's great unquietness in the house. Since her last falling out with me she showed me a good countenance as ever she did before. Now yesterday I had a sparhawk given me and she killed a brace of partridges, and then I came home before the evening was shut in: indeed all the folk had supped: whereat she seemed to be very sore angry, with these words,—'What, come you home now? I would you and your hawk would keep you away altogether. You have been a-breaking of hedges between neighbour and neighbour: and now you come home out of order and show an ill example in my house. Well you shall keep no hawk here.'—'I am the more sorrier. I have given no

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 169. Original.

[2] Meaning 'certify,' I suppose. I have modernized the spelling of these letters wherever I had no doubt about the word. The original spelling is not that of a scholar, but of a man endeavouring to represent the sound of each word. "My owmbelle dewteye fireste remembred to yower good woreshepe. I thoughte good to wright unto yow to sartey yow of my Ladies graete unquetenes in the houes. Scnes hur laste folleingout withe me," etc. etc.

acause that your Ladyship should be offended, nor I will not. To please your Ladyship, I will pull off her head.'—Whereat she stamped, and said I would do by her as I did by the bitch. Insomuch she would let me have no supper. So truly I went to bed without my supper. There is not one man in the house but she fall out withal. She put away Winter a fortnight, and took away his cloak, and then sent for him again. She have fallen out with both the Knights, and they do not mean to continue with her. There is not one in the house but she fall out withal, and is not in charity one day in a week; but with priests, which will undo her. There is one Page which had six pound on her. Mr. Willcockes had a paper with a great deal of gold in it. Willblod had two quarterns of wheat. Dicke had something the other day; what I know not.—Now for your hay she saith you shall have none; and have given Crossby orders to sell it. She have fallen out with Crossby and bid him get him out of her sight.—Now for your Doctor at Redbourn, she saith he is a Papist or some sorcerer or conjurer or some vild name or other.—She is as far out with Mr. Lawson as ever she was, and call him villain and whoremaster with other vild words. —I will continue so long as I am able, but against my will.—I have not given no more cause than I have now told your Worship. And to yield my duty, what I am able I will, but not willing to be here unless she would be quiet. She make me to buy starch and soap to wash my linen withal: more than was wont to be; yet I care not so she would be quiet. Thus desiring your Worship to except my rude writing, I rest, praying for your Worship's health and increase of worship. This 16 of August.

Your servant to command for ever,

EDWARD SPENCER.

This was written on Friday; Lady Bacon's letter to Francis[1] was written on the following Tuesday—he having probably spent the Sunday with her.

I was so full of back pain when you came hither that my memory was very slipper: I forgot to mention of Ranie (?). If you have not, I have not received Franck[s] last half-year of midsummer; the first half so long unpaid. You will mar your tenants, if you suffer them. Mr. Brocket is suffered by your brother to cozen me and beguile me without check. I fear you came too late to London for your horse. Ever regard them. I desire Mr. Trot to hearken to some honest man and look to (?) as he may. If you can hear of a convenient place, I shall be willing if it so please God; for Lawson will draw your brother *quocunque vult, ut timeo valde*, and that with false semblance.

God give you both good health and hearts to serve him truly, and bless you always with his favour.

I send you pigeons, taken this day and let blood. Look well

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 171. Copy, by Anthony Bacon's amanuensis: docketed, "Copie de la lre. de Madame a Monsr Francois Bacon, le 20me d'Aoust, 1594."

about you and yours too. I hear that Robert Knight is but sickly: I am sorry for it.

I do not write to my Lord Treasurer because you liked to stay. Let this letter be unseen. Look very well to your health. Sup not nor sit not up late. Surely I think your drinking to bedwards hindreth your and your brother's digestion very much. I never knew any but sickly that used it; besides ill for head and eyes. Observe well yet in time. 20 Aug. Gorhā.

In Christo,

A. Bacon.

5.

But why should Bacon have wished to "stay" his mother from "writing to the Lord Treasurer"? If the subject which she proposed to write about was the still-vacant Solicitorship, it is strange that he should have wished to delay an application to Burghley, whose concurrence in support of his suit he had always made such a point of. Perhaps it was about some other business which would have interfered with this; for it is certain that the suit for the Solicitorship was now in agitation again, and that, only four days after, he considered the time favourable for moving it. To that effect at least, on the 24th and again on the 25th of August, he addressed the Lord Keeper Puckering.

Francis Bacon to the Lord Keeper.[1]

It may please your good Lordship,

I understand of some business like enough to detain the Queen to-morrow, which maketh me earnestly to pray your good Lordship, as one that I have found to take my fortune to heart, to take some time to remember her Majesty of a Solicitor this present day.

Our Tower employment[2] stayeth and hath done this three

[1] Harl. MSS. 6996. 196. Original: own hand. Docketed (by mistake), "13th of August, 1594."

[2] This was the examination of the conspirators. On the 20th of August, Edmund Yorke had made a voluntary confession before W. G. Waad, Nicholas Blount, and Francis Bacon. "The matter was that there should be two sent from thence to kill her Majesty . . . who should be sent hither secretly for that purpose at such time as this examinate should think fittest to be in London, and so to execute the same; and if this examinate had opportunity, he himself should have executed the same," etc. etc. The Queen was to be killed (it seems) with some poisoned weapon; and offer was to be made of the crown to the Earl of Derby, towards which he would be assisted by the King of Spain. And if they could not kill the Queen, then they meant to raise some rebellion in the Earl of Derby's *name*.

The same day Richard Williams was examined before the same persons, but confessed nothing.

On the 23rd (the day before this letter was written), it was resolved "to forbear

days, because one of the principal offenders being brought to confess and the other persisting in denial, her Majesty in her wisdom thought best some time were given to him that is obstinate to bethink himself; which indeed is singular good in such cases. Thus desiring your Lordship's pardon, in haste I commend my fortune and duty to your favour. From Gray's Inn, this 24th of August, 1594.

Your Lordship's most humbly
to receive your commandments,
FR. BACON.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.[1]

It may please your good Lordship,

As your Lordship hath at divers times holpen me to pass over contrary times, so I humbly pray you not to omit this favourable time; I cannot bear myself as I should till I be settled. And thus desiring pardon, I leave your Lordship to God's preservation. From Gray's Inn, this 25th of August, 1594.

Your Lordship's most humbly at commandment,
FR. BACON.

But the fates were still against this unfortunate suit. The arrival of some bad news from Ireland turned the favourable time into an unfavourable one. The next day he writes to his brother (who had lately removed from Gray's Inn to a house in Bishopsgate Street, much to his mother's distress, who feared the neighbourhood of the Bull Inn, where plays and interludes were acted):—

Brother,[2]

My cousin Cooke is come four days since and appointeth towards Italy this day se'nnight. I pray take care for the money to be paid here within four or five days. The sum you remember is £150.

to deal with Bushell for two or three days; and then Mr. Bacon and I to deal with him." *I* being, I believe, Mr. Waad.

The next day Edmund Yorke was examined again before the same three.

On the 27th, Richard Williams made a confession before Blunt, Drewe, Coke, Bacon, and Waad.

On the 28th, Yorke and Williams were confronted before the same, all but Coke. See State Paper Office: Domestic, 1594.

[1] Harl. MSS. vol. 6996. 200. Original: own hand.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 650. 168. Original: own hand.

I hear nothing from the Court in mine own business. There hath been a defeat of some force in Ireland by Mackguier, which troubleth the Queen, being unaccustomed to such news thence; and thereupon the opportunity is said to be less to move her. Yet there is an amends *in eodem genere* by the coming in of the Earl of Tyrone, as was expected.

I steal to Twickenham, purposing to return this night; else I had visited you as I came from the Tower. Thus in haste I leave you to God's preservation. From Gray's Inn, this 26th of August, 1594.

Your entire loving brother,

Fr. Bacon.

6.

The question of the Solicitorship was thus again adjourned, and we hear no more of it for a month. The next letter relates to a private affair in which M. Gourgues was concerned, who was still in England, and with whom Francis had improved his acquaintance during his late visit to Cambridge; M. Gourgues having taken the opportunity of seeing the younger University while he was there.[1]

Francis Bacon to Richard Young.[2]

Mr. Young,

I shall desire your friendly pains in the repairing and punishing of an outrage offered by one Thomas Lewys, dwelling near White Chapel, upon a French gentleman of very good quality and honourable, and upon his company, not in terms alone but in very furious assailing them. My request to you is the rather for the good report of our nation, whither this gentleman is come only for his own satisfaction and experience, that he may have experience of the good policy amongst us in correcting such insolencies, specially upon strangers of his respect; and therefore desire you so great an abuse may be examined and corrected. And so in haste I wish you very well. From Gray's Inn, this 2nd of September, 1594.

Your very loving friend,

Fr. Bacon.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 149.

[2] Lambeth MSS. 650. 186. Original: own hand. Docketed, "Lre. de Mons[r] Francois Bacon a Mr. Justice Young, le de , 1594."

The French gentleman's name is Mr. Gourgues, son to the Principal Treasurer of Guyenne, and this bearer shall relate to you the particularities of the abuse.

But no record remains either of the particularities or of the event. Only we know that early in the following month Mr. Gourgues returned to France.

7.

During the last week Bacon's "Tower employment," mentioned in his letter to the Lord Keeper of the 24th, had been proceeding without intermission. The dates of the several examinations in which he had been engaged from the 20th to the 28th, are stated in my note on that letter. On the 31st, Williams was examined once again, before Blount, Bacon, and Waad; and his examination had reference this time more especially to one Ralf Sheldon, who was about to be interrogated upon some particulars brought out in the course of the investigation, which touched him. A series of interrogatories, drawn up by Bacon with a view to his examination, is preserved in the State Paper Office, and belongs properly to this place. As a genuine specimen of the manner in which these investigations were managed, it would indeed be worth printing on its own account. For it will help the reader to understand what kind of thing an "examination upon interrogatories" really was, and to correct in some material points our popular notions of the detective process of which it made part. Modern popular writers, lawyers as well as historians, are apt to speak of the entire proceeding in these cases as a scandalous abuse of power,—a process essentially iniquitous,—in intention, in theory, in practice, merely tyrannous and opposed to the true ends of justice. And *liable* to abuse it no doubt was, as all secret proceedings must be; for the Government acted under no effective check, beyond the fear of seeing their case break down when it came to public trial; and this was materially diminished by the then general practice of the Courts, in receiving as evidence depositions of witnesses that had been taken privately, without requiring that the witnesses themselves should be produced in open court to confirm them. Certainly there was nothing to prevent a Government from abusing such a power, except conscience and shame. But conscience and shame have their operation in Princes and Ministers as in other men, and the question is whether during Elizabeth's reign this power *was* so abused. Now I must say that the records which I have examined (and I have had occasion to examine several in the course of this work) do not seem

to me to justify any such imputation. To me the usual order of proceeding in these cases seems, in principle at least, rational, and the likeliest that could be adopted for the discovery of the truth, *supposing that to be the object.* Information is received which throws suspicion upon A of having been a party to some treasonable correspondence. A is apprehended and questioned upon the particular matters in which he is suspected of having had a hand. He must say something, and if he cannot give the true account of what he has done, he must give a false one. The questions and answers are carefully set down, generally signed by himself, always signed by the Commissioners before whom the examination is taken. He is then remanded. Upon a careful scrutiny of his statement it appears that if true it will be confirmed, if false confuted, by the evidence of B and C, whom it implicates. B and C are then sent for and severally questioned. Not knowing what A has said, they can hardly invent statements which shall agree in all particulars with his and with each other, unless all be true. Their answers are taken down in like manner, and are found upon a like scrutiny to involve new particulars. This supplies matter for a fresh examination of A. The same process is repeated as long as it promises to bring out anything new; till at last by successive siftings the several witnesses (each being carefully kept in the dark as to the others' tale) find themselves involved in irreconcilable contradictions or inextricable embarrassments; and one or other, in despair of maintaining the falsehood, confesses the truth. This I believe to be a correct description of the Elizabethan practice; and though it cannot be denied that a government bent upon *making out a case*, and using unscrupulously all the means at their disposal for terrifying, tempting, or perplexing the examinates, for suppressing the statement of one and garbling the statement of another, might by this method extort evidence which would make an innocent man seem guilty,—and that this is a good reason for altering the practice,—neither can it be denied that a government bent upon *discovering the truth*, and using their powers fairly and scrupulously to that end, would by this method have the best chance of succeeding. And I do not see why a government in the judgment of history is not entitled to the same benefit as a private man in the judgment of his peers,—that of being presumed innocent in the absence of direct evidence implying or indicating guilt.

This consideration however, though important in other cases with which we shall have to deal, does not especially concern us here. No such suspicion can possibly be raised against the Government on account of their proceedings in the matter to which this paper of Bacon's refers; for (whether it were that the evidence elicited was not conclu-

sive, or that for reasons of state it was thought inexpedient to make it public) none of the persons in question were brought to trial. And it is as a specimen of the *manner* in which such inquiries were prosecuted that the paper chiefly deserves attention. A careful study of the other examinations might possibly explain some of the more obscure allusions. But the general character and purpose of the interrogatories is sufficiently intelligible; and as I see no reason for believing that a more particular investigation would lead to any interesting result, I shall merely give it as it stands without further comment.

ARTICLES OF EXAMINATION OF RALF SHELDON, ESQ.

COLLECTED OUT OF THE SEVERAL ACCUSATIONS OF H. YOUNG, RIC. WILLIAMS, EDM. YORKE, AND OTHERS.[1]

To feel whether he will readily acknowledge those which are advertised, as Williams his servant, Williams his nephew, Oglethorpe the priest.	What fugitives he knoweth, and what conversation and acquaintance he hath had with any of them in time past.
To try what light he will yield from himself, and how it will concur with that which is advertised.	What messages or letter he hath at any time sent to any of them, or received from any of them.
	What relief he hath at any time furnished any of them with.
	What books or libels against the state have at any time fallen into his hands.
There be three all known to him; to see whether he will take knowledge of all.	Whether he knew one Williams.
To see if he will concur in the pretext of sending him into Ireland for hawks.	What became of Ed. Williams his servant.

[1] State Paper Office: Domestic, 1594. All in Bacon's hand. Docketed, in another hand, "6 7ber, 1594. Articles set down by Mr. Bacon, touching Sheldon. This one particular to be kept by itself."

Whether he did send him of any errand or employment out of England.

Whether he sent him not to buy hawks into Ireland.

Whether he sent him not with any letters.

What was the reason the same Williams came not back again to him, and what message or letter of excuse or otherwise he received from him.

Upon the letter wherewith Yorke impeacheth him sent to Father Holte; who nevertheless would not be named at first.

That he call to mind to what friend of his, by conference or letter, he hath used speech that he wished the Catholic religion restored in England.

What advertisement and assurance he hath given to any beyond sea of his remaining a steadfast Catholic notwithstanding his coming to church.

Touching Mass in his house and receiving of priests, if it be thought good. And touching the Knights his brothers-in-law of the like general questions which were asked of himself.

8.

What this examination led to, or indeed whether it ever took place, I do not know; but on the 12th of September Williams was examined again, Bacon being as before one of the examiners. It is evident therefore that he was fully engaged in the investigation, insomuch that had it been resolved to bring the case to trial he would probably have had to assist in the prosecution. And it would seem

from the following letter, dated September 28th, that the trial had been actually appointed, and adjourned to a further day, and was expected to come on soon, and that in that case Bacon would have been appointed Solicitor for the purpose.

FRANCIS BACON TO THE LORD KEEPER.[1]

It may please your good Lordship,

I received at my Lord of Essex last going from Court a message of good assurance, which his Lordship sent to my brother and to myself; which was this: That her Majesty had steadfastly promised him to dispatch my matter to-morrow. And somewhat her Majesty said to myself when I attended her upon some service since, which I liked well, though it was with some doubtfulness, as they say her Majesty useth till the last hour. This I thought good to signify to your good Lordship, both that your Lordship may perceive how effectual and operative your Lordship's last dealing with her Majesty was, and also that now the wheel is going your Lordship would set it forward, the rather in respect of the necessity to go presently in hand with these criminal causes, if the commission shall hold according to the adjournment. And if her Majesty should not be pleased presently to give order for a patent, yet if your Lordship may by her warrant give me warning to prepare myself, it will be some hold and satisfaction. So thinking long to have the strength of place to do your Lordship acceptable service, I leave your good Lordship to God's good preservation. From Gray's Inn, this 28th of September, 1594.

Your Lordship's most humbly at your hon[ourable] commandments,

FR. BACON.

Again however his hopes were disappointed. The "criminal causes" were not proceeded with (perhaps because the Earl of Derby's name was touched, who died in the preceding April); term commenced, and the Solicitor's place remained vacant. Bacon had retired to Twickenham, whence on the 15th of October he wrote to his brother the following letter.

[1] Harl. MSS. 6996. 216. Original: own hand.

FRANCIS BACON TO HIS BROTHER ANTHONY.[1]

My good Brother,

One day draweth on another and I am well pleased in my being here; for methinks solitariness collecteth the mind, as shutting the eyes doth the sight. I pray therefore advertise me what you find by my Lord of Essex (who I am sure hath been with you) was done last Sunday, and what he conceiveth of the matter. I hold it no secret and therefore you may trust your servant. I would be glad to receive my parsonage rent as soon as it cometh. So leave I you to God's good preservation. From Twickenham Park, this Tuesday morning, 1594.[2]

Your ever loving brother,

FR. BACON.

Professional business brought him back to Gray's Inn. It seems he had a cause to argue on the 25th. On the 23rd he received the following letter from the Earl of Essex, from which we gather that his appointment was still in suspense.

THE EARL OF ESSEX TO FRANCIS BACON.[3]

Sir,

I will be to-morrow night at London. I purpose to hear your argument[4] the next day. I pray you send me word by this bearer of the hour and place where it is. Of your own cause I shall give better account when I see you than I can do now; for that which will be done will be this afternoon or to-morrow. I am fast unto you, as you can be to yourself.

ESSEX.

9.

Michaelmas Term passed; winter set in early with frost and snow;[5] and still no Solicitor appointed. Meanwhile the burden of debt and the difficulty of obtaining necessary supplies was daily increasing. Anthony's correspondence during this autumn is full of urgent applications to various friends for loans of money, and the following memorandum shows that much of his own necessity arose from his anxiety to supply the necessities of his brother.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 197. Original: own hand. Docketed, "De Mons^r Francois Bacon a Mons^r, le 16^me de Octobre, 1594."

[2] Tuesday was the 15th. The date in the docket is probably the date of the receipt.

[3] Lambeth MSS. 650. 195. Copy. Docketed, "De Mons^r le Compte d'Essex, le 23^me d'October, 1594, a Mr. Fr. Bacon."

[4] *agreement* in MS.

[5] Lady B. to A. B., 5th December. Lambeth MSS. 650. 224.

"Memorandum. That the fourth of October, '94, at my brother coming to me after a fit of the stone, and falling into talk of the money he ought me as principal debt, he acknowledged to be due to me £650; whereof £200 I borrowed of Mr. Mills and paid it him again; £200 of the money I had of Alderman Spencer; £100 before he went his journey into the north, £60 in money and £40 for my coach-horses; £150 after his return; besides many other payments to Mr. Senhouse and others."[1]

In the same volume (pp. 24–29) are preserved a number of "acknowledgments of money received from Anthony Bacon to the use of Francis Bacon by his servants." They are the originals, with the signature in each case of the servant to whom the money was paid. Another account, which I take from a copy in Dr. Birch's hand,[2] gives the sums and dates; though I think it is not a complete one.

Money paid by Mr. Anthony Bacon to his brother Francis and to Sir Anthony Standen.

1593. A part ce qui a este paye a Mons. Senhouse.	
Le 21me de Septembre, a Mons. Francois Bacon	£5
11 de Septembre, 93, a Pierre pour Mr. Fr. Bacon	20
26 d'Octob. 1593, a Pierre	20
30 d'Octob. /93, a Mr. Fr. Bacon	1
31 d'Octob. /93, a Kellet pour Mons. Fr. Bacon	23
18 de Novem. /93, a Ashpoole pour Mr. Fr. Bacon	5
6 de May, /94, a Pierre pour Mr. Fr. Bacon	10
11 de Juillet, /94, a Mr. Fr. Bacon	60
31 d'Aoust, /94, a Mr. Fr. Bacon	100
9 Septemb. /94, a Mr. Fr. Bacon	50
29 Janvier, /94, a Mr. Trott pour Mr. Fr. Bacon	30
8 Mars, /94, a Rich. Grome pour Mr. Fr. Bacon	10
14 d'April, a Kellet pour Mr. Fr. Bacon	44
14 Juin, /95, a Mons. Sugden par son homme	50
	[3]373

Then follows a copy of the memorandum which I have already given from the original, and after that the payments to Sir Anthony Standen.

It is not often, I suppose, that a relation of debtor and creditor like this continues long even between the best friends without making their intercourse more or less uncomfortable; especially when the lender has so good an excuse for objecting to fresh demands as that of not being able to lend more without embarrassing himself, and placing himself under fresh obligations to other acquaintance.

[1] Lambeth MSS. 661. 30.
[2] Additional MSS. Br. Mus. 6123. 28.
[3] So MS.; but the items really amount to £428.

It is worth recording therefore that in all this correspondence I find no trace of disagreement between these brothers. Not a word of reproof, expostulation, reluctance, or impatience, drops from Anthony; though his temper had much of the irritability as well as all the generosity which commonly belongs to an affectionate nature; and the fact deserves notice, not merely for the honour which it reflects upon himself, but as affording a strong presumption that *he* at least, who had the best means of judging and was every way so much interested, did not disapprove the course which Francis was taking, or suspect him of prodigality or carelessness.

Francis meanwhile, as one resource for present disembarrassment, was beginning to think of parting with his reversion of the Clerkship of the Star Chamber to his friend Nicolas Trott; who though hitherto a very forward and liberal lender,[1] did not (as it afterwards appeared) mean to risk the loss either of his principal or his interest, and was now, upon these repeated postponements of the promised promotion, growing anxious for his security.[2] But not finding the arrangement practicable, or not being able to wait until it were completed, or finding some other difficulty in the way, Bacon was fain in the meantime to strain his credit for the borrowing of £500 more; and this upon some assurance in which it was necessary that his brother should join.

With this introduction the two next letters will be as intelligible as I can make them.

Francis Bacon to his Brother Anthony.[3]

Brother,

I did move you to join with me in security for £500, which

[1] See A. B.'s letter to Lady B., 10th June, 1594. Lambeth MSS. 650. 187. "I have signified unto my brother your Ladyship's mind and resolution to effectuate whatsoever shall in reason be found requisite for Mr. Trott's full satisfaction and assurance: who truly, Madam, hath showed more real confidence and kindness towards us both than I think all our brothers and uncles put together would have performed, if we had been constrained to have had recourse to them in the like case."

[2] See his letter to Francis Bacon, 2nd December, 1594; Lambeth MSS. 650. 207; and another to Anthony (652. 54), docketed 1594, but the month not named. The proposed arrangement was something of this kind. The reversion of the office (valued by Francis at £1200) was to be procured to Trott and Anthony as joint patentees; upon which Trott was to pay £600 down; and if either should die before the present possessor, and the other came into possession of the patent singly, the overliver was to pay £600, in yearly instalments of £100, to the executors or assigns of the deceased. Or, if Francis preferred some yearly payment of four or five hundred marks, Trott was willing, "so that a corresponding defalkment be made out of the sum to be paid presently."

[3] Lambeth MSS. 650. 227. Original: own hand. Docketed, "Lre. de Mons^r Francois Bacon, receue le 11^me de Decemb. 1594."

I did purpose then dividedly to have taken up, £300 elsewhere, and £200 by way of forbearance, both to the satisfaction of Peter Vanlore (?). Hereunto, I thank you, you assented. I have now agreed with Peter for the taking up of the whole of one man, according to which I send you the bonds. And whereas you shall find the bond to be of £600, which is £100 more; true it is that first the jewel cost £500 and odd, as shall appear to you by my bond. Next I promise you immediately (for we are agreed so) to free you of one hundreth, for which you stand bound to Mr. William Fleetwood. So in haste I commend you to God's good preservation: from my chamber in Gray's Inn, this 10th of December.

Your entire loving brother,

FR. BACON.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.[1]

Brother,

I have written a few words to Sir Antonio Perez, which if you allow I pray seal and deliver to my servant to bear. I did doubt I should not see him of these two or three days; which made me use *litteris præcursoriis*. I have since considered of a marvellous apt man to be joined in trust, in that the world taketh note of him for true honesty, and is obliged to my Lord's house, being used in near confidence by Mr. Secretary.[2] It is Mr. William Gerrard of Gray's Inn, who also by reason of his abode is at hand to repair to me for conference. If your opinion

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 225. Original: own hand. Docketed, "Lre. de Mr. Francois Bacon, receue le 13me de Decebre, 1594."

[2] Meaning, I suppose, Sir Francis Walsingham; "my Lord's" (that is, Essex's) father-in-law. The matter in question being probably something between Essex and Perez, the Spanish refugee, whom he greatly favoured; though the Queen would have nothing to say to him, because he betrayed his master's secrets. See Camden.

The following passage in a letter from Anthony Bacon to his brother (25th December, 1594) may perhaps relate to the same business. Essex had come the evening before "expressly to speak with the French ambassador and Sir Ant. Perez," and not finding Perez at home, left him word to "repair to Walsingham House with all speed, where he had two hours' conference with him; and amongst other things argued the matter you wot of at large, with no less judgment than devotion to my Lord's honour and profit, and good affection to us. His argument my Lord heard attentively, and accepted most kindly, with many most hearty thanks; assuring him that at his return to the Court, which would be within two days, he would resolve. The occasion was very fitly ministered by my Lord himself advertising Signor Perez that the Queen had signed at two of the clock, and had given him an hundred pound land in fee simple, and thirty pound in parks, which for quietness sake, and in respect of his friends, he was content to accept without any further contestation."—Lambeth MSS. 650. 221.

concur, let us rest upon him in case the occasion be given. *Qd. erit e re domini.* So in haste, desirous to hear of your good night's rest, I further salute you with Mr. Milles his new bond *sine liturâ.* From my chamber at Gray's Inn, this 13th of December, 1594.

Your entire loving brother,

Fr. Bacon.

10.

To suppose that Bacon's mind was not troubled with this disease in his finances, would be a great and unjust reproach. We shall see shortly that he had in fact once more resolved to shake himself free of the ties which bound him to a service so much worse than unprofitable so far as he was himself concerned. We shall see also by what means and upon what conditions he was tempted once more to renew his term.

But it was no part either of his duty or his nature to waste his spirits in vain regret. The vacation gave him leisure for work, and Christmas brought festivities for recreation. And it happens luckily that some traces remain of the manner in which he improved both. It was on the 5th of December, 1594, that he commenced that "Promus of Formularies and Elegancies," of which I have given a particular account in the 'Literary Works;'[1] in which may be traced (if I have read it right) the footprints of a journey in the mind over a large field of reading and meditation, with a view to fix the leading features in memory and store them for future use. And it was on the 29th of the same month that he was called in to assist in "recovering the lost honour of Gray's Inn," which had suffered the night before by the miscarriage of a Christmas revel.

For the more serious labour I may refer the reader to the other part of this work, to which it more properly belongs. But a contribution to the Gray's Inn revels belongs unquestionably to the "occasional" department; and to be properly understood, must be taken in connexion with the surrounding circumstances. These are indeed set forth at full length in a tract[2] which is not difficult to procure, having been reprinted in Nichols's 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.'[3] But as Bacon's name does not appear upon the face of the narrative; and as his connexion with it, though sufficiently obvious, has never so far as I know been pointed out or suspected; I assume that the little story which I am going to tell (presenting as it does a curious and very picturesque illustration of the manners of the time

[1] Works, VII. p. 189. [2] Gesta Grayorum. London, 1688. [3] III. 262.

and the humours of the people among whom all his early and middle life was spent) is not so familiar to the students of his works but that they will be glad to see it here.

"I trust they will not mum nor mask nor sinfully revel" (so writes Lady Bacon to her son Anthony, on the 5th of December,)[1] "at Gray's Inn. Who were sometime counted first, God grant they wane not daily and deserve to be named last." But it was too late for praying. The youth of Gray's Inn were already deep in sinful consultation. Their revels, in which they used to excel, had been intermitted for the last three or four years, and they were resolved to redeem the time by producing this year something out of the common way. Their device was to turn Gray's Inn, "with the consent and advice of the Readers and Ancients," into the semblance of a court and kingdom, and to entertain each other during the twelve days of Christmas licence with playing at kings and counsellors. They proceeded accordingly to elect a prince—the Prince of Purpoole. They provided him with a Privy Council for advice in matters of state; with a presence-chamber for audience, and a council-chamber for business; with all officers of state, law, and household; with gentlemen pensioners to wait on his person, and a guard, with a captain of the guard, to defend it. They raised treasure for the support of his state and dignity, partly by a benevolence, which was granted by those who were present, and partly by "letters in the nature of privy seals" which were directed to those who were away. They sent to "their ancient allied friend, the Inner Temple," a formal communication of their proceedings, with request that an ambassador from that state might be sent to reside amongst them; which was with equal formality accorded, "as ancient amity and league required and deserved." On the 20th of December, the Prince with all his state, after the pattern of a royal procession exactly marshalled, proceeded to the great hall of Gray's Inn, and took his seat on the throne. The trumpets sounded thrice, the King-at-Arms proclaimed his style and blazoned his arms; the Champion rode in in full armour and threw down his gage in defiance of all disputers; the Attorney made his speech of congratulation; the Solicitor recited the names of all homagers and tributaries, with the nature of their tenures and services (a recital which gave occasion to many jocose allusions, veiled under legal phraseology—and many of them much in need of a veil—to the manners, customs, and occupations of the several suburban localities), and summoned them to appear and do homage. A Parliament, which was to have been held, was given up, owing to the necessary absence of "some special officers;" but as a subsidy was

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 222.

obtained and a general pardon granted notwithstanding, the jest was rather improved perhaps than injured by the omission. The pardon was read at full length; an elaborate burlesque, beginning with a proclamation of free pardon for every kind of offence for which a name could be invented, and ending with a long list of cases excepted, which does in fact include every offence which could possibly be committed. Then the Prince, having made a short speech to his subjects, called his Master of the Revels, and the evening ended with dances.

This was the first day's entertainment; and though the humour has lost its edge for us, it hit the fancy of the time so well and raised such great expectation that the performers were encouraged to enlarge their plan and raise their style. They resolved therefore (besides all this court-pomp and their daily sports among themselves) to have certain "grand nights," in which something special should be performed for the entertainment of strangers. But the same expectation which suggested the design spoiled the performance. For on the first of these "grand nights" (which was intended for the special honour of the Templarians), when the Ambassador had arrived in great state, and been conducted to the presence with sound of trumpet, and after interchange of elaborate compliments seated beside the Prince, and the entertainment was ready to begin before a splendid company of "lords, ladies, and worshipful personages that did expect some notable performance,"—the throng grew suddenly so great and the stage so crowded with beholders that there was not room enough for the actors; and nothing could be done. The Ambassador and his train retired in discontent; and when the tumult partly subsided they were obliged (in default of those "very good inventions and conceipts" which had been intended) to content themselves with ordinary dancing and revelling; and when that was over, with "a *Comedy of Errors* (like to Plautus his Menechmus)," which "was played by the players." This performance seems to have been regarded as the crowning disgrace of this unfortunate Grand Night; a fact, by the way, indicating (if it were Shakespeare's play, as I suppose it was) either rich times or poor tastes; for the historian proceeds, "so that night was begun, and continued to the end, in nothing but confusion and errors; whereupon it was ever afterwards called the *Night of Errors*."

This was on the 28th of December. The next night was taken up with a legal inquiry into the causes of those disorders. A commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued. A certain "sorcerer or conjurer that was supposed to be the cause of that confused inconvenience" was arraigned before a jury of twenty-four gentlemen, on several charges; of which the last was "that he had foisted a company of base and common fellows to make up our disorders with a play of errors

and confusions." He met the charge by a counter-statement, set forth in a petition which was presented and read by the Master of Requests, showing that all was due to negligence on the part of the Council and great officers, and appealing to the Prince; who finding the allegations in the petition to be true, pardoned and released the prisoner; but finding them also to be offensive, as taxing the Government, and therefore not proper to pass unpunished, ordered to the Tower (along with the Attorney and Solicitor, whose delinquencies it exposed) the Master of Requests, who had been acquainted with its contents.

After this broad parody upon the administration of justice by the Crown in Council, they proceeded to "hold a great consultation for the recovery of their lost honour;" which ended in a resolution "that the Prince's Council should be reformed, and some graver conceipts should have their places, to advise upon those things that were propounded to be done afterward." And here it is that the story begins to have an interest for us. It is most probable that one of these "graver conceipts" was Bacon himself. It is certain that an entertainment of a very superior kind was produced a few days after, in the preparation of which he took a principal part.

Friday, the 3rd of January, was to be the night. "Divers plots and devices" were arranged. Order was taken to prevent overcrowding and confusion. A great number of great persons, among them the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Vice-Chamberlain, and several other Privy Councillors, were invited and came. When all were seated, the Prince came in full state and took his throne. The Ambassador from Templaria followed with his train, and was placed by the Prince's side; and the performance began, after the fashion of those entertainments, with a dumb-show; the object of which was to represent the reconciliation between Gray's Inn and the Temple, which had been disturbed by the Night of Errors.

The curtain being withdrawn discovered the Arch-flamen of the Goddess of Amity standing at her altar, and round it nymphs and fairies singing hymns in her praise, and "making very pleasant melody with viols and voices." Then came in, pair by pair, all the heroic patterns of friendship, Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Pylades and Orestes, Scipio and Lælius, each pair offering incense upon the altar as they passed; "which shined and burned very clear without blemish." Last came Graius and Templarius, lovingly, arm in arm; but when they offered their incense the flame was choked with "troubled smoke and dark vapour," until the Arch-flamen performed certain mystical ceremonies and invocations, and the nymphs sang hymns of pacification, upon which the flame burnt up clearer than it

had ever done before, and continued longer, and the Arch-flamen pronounced them to be as true and perfect friends as any of those others, and divined that their love would be perpetual; "and so with sweet and pleasant melody the curtain was drawn as it was at the first."

The show being ended, the Prince in token of satisfaction invested the Ambassador and twenty-four of his retinue, with the Collar of the Knighthood of the Helmet; upon which the King-at-Arms,—having first declared how the Prince had instituted this Order in memory of the arms he bore, which were given to one of his ancestors for saving the life of the then sovereign, "in regard that as the helmet defendeth the chiefest part of the body, the head, so did he then defend the head of the state,"—proceeded to read the articles of the Order; which they were all to vow to keep, each kissing the helmet as he took his vow.

These articles present in a strain of playful satire so elegant an illustration of the fashions and humours of those days, that I shall transcribe them at length; the rather as forming part of an entertainment in the preparation of which Bacon certainly had a hand, though not, I think, in the execution of this part of it.

"*Imprimis*, Every Knight of this Honourable Order, whether he be a natural subject or stranger born, shall promise never to bear arms against his Highness's sacred person, nor his state; but to assist him in all his lawful wars and maintain all his just pretences and titles; especially his Highness' title to the land of the Amazons and the Cape of Good Hope.

"*Item*, No Knight of this Order shall, in point of honour, resort to any grammar-rules out of the books *de Duello*, or such-like; but shall out of his own brave mind and natural courage deliver himself from scorns, as to his own discretion shall seem convenient.

"*Item*, No Knight of this Order shall be inquisitive towards any lady or gentlewoman, whether her beauty be English or Italian, or whether with care-taking she have added half a foot to her stature; but shall take all to the best. Neither shall any Knight of the aforesaid Order presume to affirm that faces were better twenty years ago than they are at this present time, except such knight have passed three climacterical years.

"*Item*, Every Knight of this Order is bound to perform all requisite and manly service, be it night-service or otherwise, as the case requireth, to all ladies and gentlewomen, beautiful by nature or by art; ever offering his aid without any demand thereof; and if in case he fail so to do, he shall be deemed a match of disparagement to any of his Highness's widows or wards-female; and his Excellency shall in justice forbear to make any tender of him to any such ward or widow.

"*Item*, No Knight of this Order shall procure any letters from his Highness to any widow or maid, for his enablement or commendation to be advanced in marriage; but all prerogative, wooing set apart, shall for

ever cease as to any of these Knights, and shall be left to the common laws of this land, declared by the statute *Quia elections liberæ esse debent.*

"*Item*, No Knight of this honourable Order, in case he shall grow into decay, shall procure from his Highness [for his] relief and sustentation any monopolies or privileges, except only these kinds following; that is to say, upon every tobacco-pipe, not being one foot wide. Upon every lock that is worn, not being seven foot long. Upon every health that is drunk, not being of a glass five foot deep. And upon every maid in his Highness' province of Islington, continuing a virgin after the age of fourteen years, contrary to the use and custom in that place always had and observed.

"*Item*, No Knight of this Order shall have any more than one mistress, for whose sake he shall be allowed to wear three colours. But if he will have two mistresses, then must he wear six colours; and so forward, after the rate of three colours to a mistress.

"*Item*, No Knight of this Order shall put out any money upon strange returns or performances to be made by his own person; as to hop up the stairs to the top of St. Paul's without intermission; or any other such-like agilities or endurances; except it may appear that the same performances or practices do enable him to some service or employment; as if he do undertake to go a journey backward, the same shall be thought to enable him to be an ambassador into Turkey.

"*Item*, No Knight of this Order that hath had any licence to travel into foreign countries, be it by map, card, sea, or land, and hath returned from thence, shall presume upon the warrant of a traveller to report any extraordinary varieties; as that he hath ridden through Venice on horseback post, or that in December he sailed by the Cape of Norway, or that he hath travelled over the most part of the countries of Geneva, or such-like hyperboles, contrary to the statute *Propterea quod qui diversos terrarum ambitus errant et vagantur*, etc.

"*Item*, Every Knight of this Order shall do his endeavour to be much in the books of the worshipful citizens of the principal city next adjoining to the territories of Purpoole; and none shall unlearnedly, or without booking,[1] pay ready money for any wares or other things pertaining to the gallantness of his Honour's Court; to the ill example of others and utter subversion of credit betwixt man and man.

"*Item*, Every Knight of this Order shall apply himself to some or other virtuous quality or ability of learning, honour, and arms: and shall not think it sufficient to come into his Honour's presence-chamber in good apparel only, or to be able to keep company at play and gaming. For such it is already determined that they be put and taken for implements of household, and are placed in his Honour's inventory.

"*Item*, Every Knight of this Order shall endeavour to add conference and experience to[2] reading; and therefore shall not only read and peruse Guizo, the French Academy, Galiatto the Courtier, Plutarch, the Arcadia, and the Neoterical writers, from time to time; but also frequent the

[1] *looking* in original. [2] *by* in original.

theatre and such-like places of experience; and resort to the better sort of ordinaries for conference, whereby they may not only become accomplished with civil conversation and able to govern a table with discourse; but also sufficient, if need be, to make epigrams, emblems, and other devices appertaining to his Honour's learned revels.

Item, No Knight of this Order shall give out what gracious words the Prince hath given him, nor leave word at his chamber, in case any come to speak with him, that he is above with his Excellency, nor cause his man when he shall be in any public assembly to call him suddenly to go to the Prince, nor cause any packet of letters to be brought at dinner or supper-time, nor say that he had the refusal of some great office, nor satisfy suitors to say his Honour is not in any good disposition, nor make any narrow observation of his Excellency's nature and fashions, as if he were inward privately with his Honour; contrary to the late inhibition of selling of smoke.

"*Item*, No Knight of this Order shall be armed for the safeguard of his countenance with a pike in his mouth in the nature of a tooth-picker, or with any weapon in his hand, be it stick, plume, wand, or any such-like: Neither shall he draw out of his pocket any book or paper, to read, for the same intent; neither shall he retain any extraordinary shrug, nod, or any familiar motion or gesture, to the same end; for his Highness of his gracious clemency is disposed to lend his countenance to all such Knights as are out of countenance.

"*Item*, No Knight of this Order that weareth fustian, cloth, or such statute-apparel, for necessity, shall pretend to wear the same for the new fashion's sake.

Item, No Knight of this Order in walking the streets or other places of resort, shall bear his hands in his pockets of his great rolled hose with the Spanish wheel, if it be not either to defend his hands from the cold, or else to guard forty shillings sterling, being in the same pockets.

"*Item*, No Knight of this Order shall lay to pawn his Collar of Knighthood for an hundred pounds; and if he do, he shall be *ipso facto* discharged; and it shall be lawful for any man whatsoever that will retain the same Collar for the sum aforesaid, forthwith to take upon him the said Knighthood, by reason of a secret virtue in the Collar; for in this Order it is holden for a certain rule that the Knighthood followeth the Collar, and not the Collar the Knighthood.

"*Item*, That no Knight of this Order shall take upon him the person of a malcontent, in going with a more private retinue than appertaineth to his degree, and using but certain special obscure company, and commending none but men disgraced and out of office; and smiling at good news, as if he knew something that were not true; and making odd notes of his Highness' reign, and former Governments; or saying that his Highness' sports were well sorted with a Play of Errors; and such-like pretty speeches of jest, to the end that he may more safely utter his malice against his Excellency's happiness; upon pain to be present at all his Excellency's most glorious triumphs.

"*Lastly*, All the Knights of this honourable Order and the renowned

Sovereign of the same, shall yield all homage, loyalty, unaffected admiration, and all humble service, of what name or condition soever, to the incomparable Empress of the fortunate Island."

The ceremony of investiture was followed by a "variety of consort-music" and a running banquet served by the Knights of the Helmet who were not strangers: and so this part of the entertainment ended.

Next follows the part in which we are more especially concerned, —that part for the better illustration of which I have thought it worth while to tell the story.

"This being done (proceeds the narrator) there was a table set in the midst of the stage before the Prince's seat; and there sate six of the Lords of his Privy Council, which at that time were appointed to attend in Council the Prince's leisure. Then the Prince spake to them in this manner:—

My Lords,

We have made choice of you, our most faithful and favoured counsellors, to advise with you not any particular action of our state, but in general of the scope and end whereunto you think it most for our honour and the happiness of our state that our government should be rightly bent and directed. For we mean not to do as many princes use, which conclude of their ends out of their own humours[1] and take counsel only of the means, abusing for the most part the wisdom of their counsellors [to[2]] set them in the right way to the wrong place. But we, desirous to leave as little to chance or humour as may be, do now give you liberty and warrant to set before us to what port, as it were, the ship of our government should be bounden. And this we require you to do without either respect to our affections or your own; neither guessing what is most agreeable with our disposition, wherein we may easily deceive you, for Princes' hearts are inscrutable; nor on the other side putting the case by yourselves, as if you would present us with a robe whereof measure were taken by yourselves. Thus you perceive our mind and we expect your answer.

The First Counsellor, advising the Exercise of War.

Most excellent Prince,

Except there be such amongst us, as I am fully persuaded

[1] *honours* in original.
[2] *to* omitted in original, and *abusing* . . . *counsellors* within parenthesis.

there is none, that regardeth more his own greatness under you than your greatness over others, I think there will be little difference in chusing for you a goal worthy your virtue and power. For he that shall set before him your magnanimity and valour, supported by the youth and disposition of your body; your flourishing Court, like the horse of Troy, full of brave commanders and leaders; your populous and man-rife provinces, overflowing with warlike people; your coffers, like the Indian mines when that they were first opened; your storehouses and arsenals,[1] like to Vulcan's cave; your navy like to an huge floating city; the devotion of your subjects to your crown and person, their good agreement amongst themselves, their wealth and provision; and then your strait[2] and unrevocable confederation with these[3] noble and honourable personages, and the fame and reputation without of so rare a concurrence, whereof all the former regards do grow; how can he think any exercise worthy of your means but that of conquest? For in few words, what is your strength, if you find it not? your fortune, if you try it not? your virtue, if you show it not? Think, excellent Prince, what sense of content you found in yourself, when you were first invested in our state; for though I know your Excellency is far from vanity and lightness, yet it is the nature of all things to find rest when they come to due and proper places. But be assured of this, that this delight will languish and vanish; for power[4] will quench appetite and satiety will induce[5] tediousness. But if you embrace the wars, your trophies and triumphs shall be as continual coronations, that will not suffer your glory and contentment to fade and wither. Then when you have enlarged your territories, ennobled your country, distributed fortunes, good or bad, at your pleasure, not only to particulars but to cities and nations; marked the computations of times with your expeditions and voyages, and the memory of places by your exploits and victories; in your later years you shall find a sweet respect[6] into the adventures of your youth; you shall enjoy your reputation; you shall record your travels; and after your own time you shall eternise your name, and leave deep footsteps of your power in the world. To conclude, excellent Prince, and

[1] *are as sea-walls* in original.
[2] *strength* in original; for which *streight* might easily be mistaken.
[3] *the* in original.
[4] So original, qy. *possession*.
[5] *endure* in original.
[6] Probably *rèspect* (= *retrospect*).

most worthy to have the titles of victories added to your other high and deserved titles, Remember, the divines find nothing more glorious to resemble our state unto than a warfare. All things in earnest and jest do affect a kind of victory; and all other victories are but shadows to the victories of the wars. Therefore embrace the wars, for they disparage you not; and believe that if any Prince do otherwise it is either in the weakness of his mind or means.

The Second Counsellor, advising the Study of Philosophy.

It may seem, most excellent Prince, that my Lord which now hath spoken did never read the just censures of the wisest men, who compared great conquerors to great rovers and witches, whose power is in destruction and not in preservation; else would he never have advised your Excellency to become as some comet or blazing star, which should threaten and portend nothing but death and dearth, combustions and troubles of the world. And whereas the governing faculties of men are two, force and reason, whereof the one is brute and the other divine, he wisheth you for your principal ornament and regality the talons of the eagle to catch the prey, and not the piercing sight which seeth into the bottom of the sea. But I contrariwise will wish unto your Highness the exercise of the best and purest part of the mind, and the most innocent and meriting conquest,[1] being the conquest of the works of nature; making this proposition,[2] that you bend the excellency of your spirits to the searching out, inventing, and discovering of all whatsoever is hid and[3] secret in the world; that your Excellency be not as a lamp that shineth to others and yet seeth not itself, but as the Eye of the World, that both carrieth and useth light. Antiquity, that presenteth unto us in dark visions the wisdom of former times, informeth us that the [governments of] kingdoms have always had an affinity with the secrets and mysteries of learning. Amongst the Persians, the kings were attended on by the Magi. The Gymnosophists had all the government under the princes of Asia; and generally those kingdoms were accounted most happy, that had rulers most addicted to philosophy. The Ptolemies in Egypt may be for instance; and Salomon[4] was a man so seen in the universality of nature that he wrote an herbal of all that was green upon the earth.

[1] *request* in original. [2] *his proportion* in original. [3] *in* in original.
[4] *Solyman* in original.

No conquest of Julius Cæsar made him so remembered as the Calendar. Alexander the Great wrote to Aristotle, upon the publishing of the Physics, that he esteemed more of excellent men in knowledge than in empire.[1] And to this purpose I will commend to your Highness four principal works and monuments of yourself: First, the collecting of a most perfect and general library, wherein whatsoever the wit of man hath heretofore committed to books of worth, be they ancient or modern, printed or manuscript, European or of the other parts, of one or other language, may be made contributory to your wisdom. Next, a spacious, wonderful garden, wherein whatsoever plant the sun of divers climates, out of the earth of divers moulds, either wild or by the culture of man brought forth, may be with that care that appertaineth to the good prospering thereof set and cherished: This garden to be built about with rooms to stable in all rare beasts and to cage in all rare birds; with two lakes adjoining, the one of fresh water the other of salt, for like variety of fishes. And so you may have in small compass a model of universal nature made private. The third, a goodly huge cabinet, wherein whatsoever the hand of man by exquisite art or engine hath made rare in stuff, form, or motion; whatsoever singularity chance and the shuffle of things hath produced; whatsoever Nature hath wrought in things that want life and may be kept; shall be sorted and included. The fourth such a still-house, so furnished with mills, instruments, furnaces, and vessels, as may be a palace fit for a philosopher's stone. Thus, when your Excellency shall have added depth of knowledge to the fineness of [your] spirits and greatness of your power, then indeed shall you be[2] a Trismegistus; and then when all other miracles and wonders shall cease by reason that you shall have discovered their natural causes, yourself shall be left the only miracle and wonder of the world.

The Third Counsellor, advising Eternizement and Fame by Buildings and Foundations.

My Lords that have already spoken, most excellent Prince, have both used one fallacy, in taking that for certain and granted which was most uncertain and doubtful; for the one hath neither drawn in question the success and fortune of the wars, nor the other the difficulties and errors in the conclusions of nature. But

[1] *in the empire* in original. [2] *lay* in original.

these immoderate hopes and promises do many times issue forth,[1] those of the wars into tragedies of calamities and distresses; and those of mystical philosophy into comedies of ridiculous frustrations and disappointments of such conceipts and curiosities. But on the other side, in one point my Lords have well agreed; that they both according to their several intentions counselled your Excellency to win fame and to eternize your name; though the one adviseth it in a course of great peril, and the other of little dignity and magnificence. But the plain and approved way, that is safe and yet proportionable to the greatness of a monarch, to present himself to posterity, is not rumour and hearsay, but the visible[2] memory of himself in[3] the magnificence of goodly and royal buildings and foundations, and the new institutions of orders, ordinances, and societies; that is, that [as] your coin be stamped with your own image, so in every part of your state there may be somewhat new, which by continuance may make the founder and author remembered. It was perceived at the first, when men sought to cure mortality by fame, that buildings was the only way; and thereof proceeded the known holy antiquity of building the Tower of Babel; which as it was a sin in the immoderate appetite of fame, so it was punished in the kind; for the diversities of languages have imprisoned fame ever since. As for the pyramids, the colosses, the number of temples, colleges, bridges, aqueducts, castles, theatres, palaces, and the like, they may show us that men ever mistrusted any other way to fame than this only, of works and monuments. Yea even they which had the best choice of other means. Alexander did not think his fame so engraven in his conquests, but that he thought it further shined in the buildings of Alexandria. Augustus Cæsar thought no man had done greater things in military actions than himself, yet that which at his death ran most in his mind was his building, when he said, not, as some mistake it, metaphorically, but literally, *I found the city of brick but I leave it of marble.* Constantine the Great was wont to call with envy the Emperor Trajan, *wallflower*, because his name was upon so many buildings; which notwithstanding he himself did embrace in the new founding of Constantinople, and sundry other buildings; and yet none greater conquerors than these two. And surely they had reason; for the fame of great actions is like to a landflood which hath no certain

[1] *from* in original. [2] *usual* in original. [3] *is* in original.

head or spring; but the memory and fame of buildings and foundations hath, as it were, a fountain in an hill, which continually feedeth and refresheth the other waters. Neither do I, excellent Prince, restrain my speeches to dead buildings only, but intend it also to other foundations, institutions, and creations; wherein I presume the more to speak confidently, because I am warranted herein by your own wisdom, who have made the first-fruits of your actions of state to institute the honourable Order of the Helmet; the less shall I need to say, leaving your Excellency not so much to follow my advice as your own example.

The Fourth Counsellor, advising Absoluteness of State and Treasure.

Let it not seem pusillanimity for your Excellency, mighty Prince, to descend a little from your high thoughts to a necessary consideration of your own estate. Neither do you deny, honourable Lords, to acknowledge safety, profit, and power to be of the substance of policy, and fame and honour rather to be as flowers of well ordered actions than as good ends.[1] Now if you examine the courses propounded according to these respects, it must be confessed that the course of wars may seem to increase power, and the course of contemplations and foundations not prejudice safety. But if you look beyond the exterior you shall find that the first breeds weakness and the latter nurse[2] peril. For certain it is during wars your Excellency will be enforced[3] to your soldiers and generally to your people, and become less absolute and monarchical than if you reigned in peace; and then if your success be good, that you make new conquests, you shall be constrained to spend the strength of your ancient and settled provinces to assure your new and doubtful, and become like a strong man that by taking a great burden upon his shoulders maketh himself weaker than he was before. Again, if you think you may intend[4] contemplations with security, your Excellency will be deceived; for such studies will make you retired and disused with your business, whence will follow a diminution[5] of your authority. As for the other point, of erecting[6] in every part of your state something new derived from yourself, it will

[1] *guides* in original. [2] *note* in original. [3] So in original.
[4] *not end* in original. [5] *admiration* in original. [6] *exercising.*

acquaint your Excellency[1] with an humour of innovation and alteration, which will make your reign very turbulent and unsettled; and many times your change will be for [the] worse, as in the example last touched of Constantine, who by his new translation of his estate ruinated the Roman Empire. As for profit, there appeareth a direct contrariety between that and all the three courses; for nothing causeth such a dissipation of treasure as wars, curiosities, and buildings; and for all this to be recompensed in a supposed honour, a matter apt to be much extolled in words, but not greatly to be prized[2] in conceipt, I do think it a loser's bargain. Besides that many politic princes have received as much commendation for their wise and well-ordered government as others have done for their conquests and glorious affections; and more worthy, because the praise of wisdom and judgment is less communicated with fortune. Therefore, excellent Prince, be not transported with shows. Follow the order of nature, first to make the most of that you possess, before you seek to purchase more. To put the case by a private man (for I cannot speak high), if a man were born to an hundred pounds by the year, and one show him how with charge to purchase an hundred pounds more, and another should show him how without charge to raise that hundred pounds unto five hundred pounds, I should think the latter advice should be followed. The proverb is a country proverb, but significative, *Milk the cow that standeth still; why follow you her that flieth away?* Do not think, excellent Prince, that all the conquests you are to make be foreign. You are to conquer here at home the overgrowing of your grandees in factions, and too great liberties of your people; the great reverence and formalities given to your laws and customs, in derogation of your absolute prerogatives: these and such-like be conquests of state, though not of war. You want a Joseph, that should by advice make you the only proprietor of all the lands and wealth of your subjects. The means how to strain up your sovereignty, and how to accumulate treasure and revenue, they are the secrets of your state; I will not enter into them at this place: I wish your Excellency as ready to [desire] them, as I have the means ready to perform them.

[1] So in original. Perhaps it should be, "your Excellency's subjects."
[2] *praised* in original.

The Fifth Counsellor, advising him Virtue and a gracious Government.

Most excellent Prince,

I have heard sundry plats and propositions offered unto you severally; one to make you a great Prince, another to make you a strong Prince, and another to make you a memorable Prince, and a fourth to make you an absolute Prince. But I hear of no invention[1] to make you a good and a virtuous Prince; which surely my Lords have left out in discretion, as to arise of your own motion and choice; and so I should have thought, had they not handled their own propositions so artificially and persuadingly, as doth assure me their speech was not formal. But, most worthy Prince, fame is too light, and profit and surety are too low, and power is either such as you have or ought not so to seek to have. It is the meriting of your subjects, the making of golden times, the becoming of a natural parent to your state; these are the only [fit] and worthy ends of your Grace's virtuous reign. My Lords have taught you to refer all things to yourself, your greatness, memory, and advantage; but whereunto shall yourself be referred? If you will be heavenly you must have influence. Will you be as a standing pool, that spendeth and choketh his spring within itself, and hath no streams nor current to bless and make fruitful whole tracts of countries whereby it runneth?[2] Wherefore, first of all, most virtuous Prince, assure yourself of an inward peace, that the storms without do not disturb any of your repairers of state within. Therein use and practise all honourable diversions. That done, visit all the parts of your state, and let the balm distil everywhere from your sovereign hands, to the medicining of any part that complaineth. Beginning with your seat of state, take order that the faults of your great ones[3] do not rebound upon yourself; have care that your intelligence, which is the light of your state, do not go out or burn dim or obscure; advance men of virtue and not of mercenary minds; repress all faction be it either malign or violent. Then look into the state of your laws and justice of your land; purge out multiplicity of laws, clear the incertainty of them, repeal those that are snaring, and press[4] the execution of those that are wholesome and necessary; define the jurisdic-

[1] *mention* in original.
[2] *reneweth* in original.
[3] *fault of your greatness* in original.
[4] *prize* in original.

tion of your courts, repress[1] all suits and vexations, all causeless delays and fraudulent shifts and devices, and reform all such abuses of right and justice; assist the ministers thereof, punish severely all extortions and exactions of officers, all corruptions in trials and sentences of judgment. Yet when you have done all this, think not that the bridle and spur will make the horse to go alone without time and custom. Trust not to your laws for correcting the times, but give all strength to good education; see to the government of your universities and all seminaries of youth, and to[2] the private order of families, maintaining due obedience of children towards their parents, and reverence of the younger sort towards the ancient. Then when you have confirmed the noble and vital parts of your realm of state, proceed to take care of the blood and flesh and good habit of the body. Remedy all decays of population, make provision for the poor, remove all stops in traffic, and all cankers[3] and causes of consumption in trades and mysteries; redress all—But whither do I run, exceeding the bounds of that perhaps I am now demanded? But pardon me, most excellent Prince, for as if I should commend unto your Excellency the beauty of some excellent Lady, I could not so well express it with relation as if I showed you her picture; so I esteem the best way to commend a virtuous government, to describe and make appear what it is; but my pencil perhaps disgraceth it; therefore I leave it to your Excellency to take the picture out of your wise observation, and then to double it and express it in your government.

The Sixth Counsellor, persuading Pastimes and Sports.

When I heard, most excellent Prince, the three first of my Lords so careful to continue your fame and memory, methought it was as if a man should come to some young prince as yourself is, and immediately after his coronation be in hand with him to make himself a sumptuous and stately tomb. And, to speak out of my soul, I muse how any of your servants can once endure to think of you as of a prince past. And for my other Lords, who would engage you so deeply in matters of state, the one persuading you to a more absolute, the other to a more gracious government, I assure your Excellency their lessons were so cumbersome, as if they would make you a king in a play, who, when

[1] *reprise* in original. [2] *of* in original. [3] *cancers* in original.

one would think he standeth in great majesty and felicity, he is troubled to say his part. What! nothing but tasks, nothing but working-days? No feasting, no music, no dancing, no triumphs, no comedies, no love, no ladies? Let other men's lives be as pilgrimages, because they are tied to divers necessities and duties; but princes' lives are as progresses, dedicated only to variety and solace. And [as] if your Excellency should take your barge in a summer evening, or your horse or chariot, to take the air; and if you should do any the favour to visit him; yet your pleasure is the principal, and that is but as it falleth out; so if any of these matters which have been spoken of fall out in the way of your pleasure, it may be taken, but no otherwise. And therefore leave your wars to your lieutenants, and your works and buildings to your surveyors, and your books to your universities, and your state-matters to your counsellors, and attend you that in person which you cannot execute by deputy: use the advantage of your youth: be not sullen to your fortune; make your pleasure the distinction of your honours, the study of your favourites, the talk of your people, and the allurement of all foreign gallants to your Court. And in a word, sweet Sovereign, dismiss your five counsellors, and only take counsel of your five senses.[1]

The Prince's Answer and Conclusion to the Speeches of the Counsellors.

My Lords,

We thank you for your good opinions; which have been so well set forth, as we should think ourselves not capable of good counsel if in so great variety of persuading reasons we should suddenly resolve. Meantime it shall not be amiss to make choice of the last, and upon more deliberation to determine of

[1] There follows here, in the narrative from which this is taken, a reply from the Prince, which reads to me like an interpolation. It interrupts the action, and is inferior in style. It may have been spoken extempore by the Prince, but can hardly have been part of the composition. It runs thus:—"But if a man should follow your five senses" (said the Prince) "I perceive he might follow your Lordship now and then into an inconvenience. Your Lordship is a man of a very lively and pleasant advice; which though one should not be forward to follow, yet it fitteth the time, and what our own humour inclineth[a] oftentimes to, delight and merriment. For a prince should be of a cheerful and pleasant spirit, not austere, hard-fronted, and stoical, but, after serious affairs, admitting recreation, and using pleasures as sauces for meats of better nourishment."

[a] *inclined* in original.

the rest; and what time we spend in long consulting, in the end we will gain by prompt and speedy executing.

"The Prince (proceeds the reporter) having ended his speech, arose from his seat and took that occasion of revelling. So he made choice of a Lady to dance withal; so likewise did the Lord Ambassador, the Pensioners, and Courtiers attending the Prince. The rest of that night was passed in those pastimes. The performance of which night's work being very carefully and orderly handled, did so delight and please the nobles and the other auditory, that thereby Gray's Inn did not only recover their lost credit and quite take away all the disgrace that the former Night of Errors had incurred; but got instead thereof so great honour and applause as either the good reports of our honourable friends that were present could yield, or we ourselves desire."

11.

Thus ended one of the most elegant Christmas entertainments, probably, that was ever presented to an audience of statesmen and courtiers. That Bacon had a hand in the general design is merely a conjecture; we know that he had a taste in such things and did sometimes take a part in arranging them; and the probability seemed strong enough to justify a more detailed account of the whole evening's work than I should otherwise have thought fit. But that the speeches of the six councillors were written by him, and by him alone, no one who is at all familiar with his style either of thought or expression will for a moment doubt. They carry his signature in every sentence. And they have a much deeper interest for us than could have been looked for in such a sportive exercise belonging to so forgotten a form of idleness. All these councillors speak with Bacon's tongue and out of Bacon's brain; but the second and fifth speak out of his heart and judgment also. The propositions of the latter contain an enumeration of those very reforms in state and government which throughout his life he was most anxious to see realized. In those of the former may be traced, faintly but unmistakably, a first hint of his great project for the restoration of the dominion of knowledge,—a first draft of "Solomon's House,"—a rudiment of that history of universal nature, which was to have formed the third part of the 'Instauratio,' and is in my judgment (as I have elsewhere explained at large) the principal novelty and great characteristic feature of the Baconian philosophy. This composition is valuable therefore, not only as showing with what fidelity his mind when left to itself pointed always, in sport as in earnest, towards the great objects

which he had set before him, but also as giving us one of the very few certain *dates* by which we can measure the progress of his philosophical speculations in these early years.

It remains for me to give what account I can of the narrative in which it is preserved.

It is a quarto pamphlet of 68 pages; printed in 1685, for "W. Canning, at his shop in the Temple Cloisters;" with a dedication to Matthew Smyth, Esq., Comptroller of the Inner Temple; apparently from a manuscript written by some member of Gray's Inn who was an eye-witness of what he relates; and bearing the title "*Gesta Grayorum, or the History of the high and mighty Prince, Henry, Prince of Purpoole*, etc., who reigned and died A.D. 1594." Whom it was by, where and when it was found, how it came into the publisher's hands, we are not informed. We can only gather from the dedication that it was found by accident, and printed without alteration. The dedication is signed W. C., which stands, I presume, for W. Canning, the printer. But Nichols, who re-printed the pamphlet (without the dedication) in his 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth' (III. 262), tells us that "the publisher was Mr. Henry Keepe, who published the 'Monuments of Westminster.'"

It is a pity that the publisher, whoever he was, did not tell us a little more about the manuscript, though it is probable enough that he had not much more to tell. Nothing is more natural than that such a narrative should have been written at the time for the amusement and satisfaction of the parties concerned; should have been laid by and forgotten; and found again lying by itself, without anybody to tell its story for it.

There is more of it; the historian proceeding to record other achievements of the Prince of Purpoole, whose reign was prolonged beyond the days of ordinary licence, and did not end before Shrove Tuesday. But I look in vain for any further traces of Bacon's hand. His Christmas holidays were over; Gray's Inn Hall was stripped of its scaffoldings and regal furniture; the business of real life commenced again; and the business which most concerned him was the appointment of a Solicitor-General, which still seemed as near, and was still as far off, as ever. But the suit takes a somewhat livelier aspect from the closer proximity into which it brings us with the Queen herself, as will be seen in the next chapter.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1594–95, JANUARY—NOVEMBER. ÆTAT. 34.

1.

THE letters contained in Rawley's *Supplement*, though his voucher may be considered sufficient to prove them genuine, are not easy to arrange. They have no explanatory headings; most of them are without date; and we have no means of knowing whence they came—whether from the originals or from the rough drafts. The want of dates rather favours the notion that they were from the drafts; in which case another uncertainty arises: we may not assume that they were all *sent* to the persons whose addresses they bear, in the shape in which we see them. A letter may be written by way of experiment, to see *whether* such a letter be fit to send. It may be withheld upon better consideration. It may be rendered unfit or unnecessary by something happening in the meantime. I have been careful therefore to distinguish the several collections from which each letter comes; and with regard to all those which are marked as coming from the supplementary collection in the 'Resuscitatio,' I would observe that they are to be taken for historical facts thus far only:—they represent something which was in Bacon's mind to say: a fact very interesting, especially where we can date it.

The date of the letter with which I commence this chapter is (and I am afraid must remain) uncertain. There is little doubt however that it relates to the suit for the Solicitorship, and that it fits this stage of it well enough, even if it belongs historically to another. As it must be placed somewhere, and I know no other place which is more likely to be the right one, I place it here.

TO MY LORD OF ESSEX.

My singular good Lord,

I may perceive by my Lord Keeper, that your Lordship, as the time served, signified unto him an intention to confer with

[1] Rawley's 'Resuscitatio,' Supplement, p. 85.

his Lordship at better opportunity; which in regard of your several and weighty occasions I have thought good to put your Lordship in remembrance of; that now, at his coming to the Court, it may be executed: desiring your good Lordship nevertheless not to conceive out of this my diligence in soliciting this matter that I am either much in appetite or much in hope. For as for appetite, the waters of Parnassus are not like the waters of the Spaw, that give a stomach; but rather they quench appetite and desires. And for hope, how can he hope much, that can allege no other reason than the reason of an evil debtor, who will persuade his creditor to lend him new sums and to enter further in with him to make him satisfy the old; and to her Majesty no other reason, but the reason of a waterman; I am her first man, of those who serve in Counsel of Law?[1] And so I commit your Lordship to God's best preservation.

Whether upon this hint or upon his own suggestion, Essex on the 14th of January[2] wrote to the Lord Keeper Puckering as follows.

My Lord,[3]

I have, since I spake with your Lordship, pleaded to the Queen against herself for the injury she doth Mr. Bacon in delaying him so long, and the unkindness she doth me in granting no better expedition in a suit which I have followed so long and so affectionately. And though I find that she makes some difficulty, to have the more thanks, yet I do assure myself she is resolved to make him. I do write this not to solicit your Lordship to stand firm in assisting me, because I know you hold yourself already tied by your affection to Mr. Bacon and by your promise to me; but to acquaint your Lordship with my resolution to set up my rest and employ my uttermost strength to get him placed before the term: so as I beseech your Lordship think of no temporizing course, for I shall think the Queen deals unkindly with me, if she do not both give him the place, and give it with favour and some extraordinary advantage. I wish your Lordship all honour and happiness; and rest,

Your Lordship's very assured,

Essex.

Greenwich, this 14th of January.

[1] Bacon had been "serving in Counsel of Law,"—that is, he had been employed in business belonging to the Learned Counsel,—since July, 1594; and there does not seem to have been any candidate for the Solicitorship senior to him, who was so employed.

[2] The year-date is not given, but the indorsement, in Puckering's hand, "My Lo. of Essex for Mr. Fran. Bacon to be *Solicitor*," fixes it.

[3] Harl. MSS. 6997, fo. 170. Original: own hand.

Whether the deprecation of any "temporizing course" implies a doubt as to Puckering's earnestness in the cause, I do not know but in such cases friends are sure to become talebearers, and doubts were of course suggested as to the sincerity of the Cecils. Sir Robert especially was believed by the friends of the Bacons to be playing a double part; and whether justly suspected or not in this particular case, it was a thing he was capable of doing. But the following conversation between him and Lady Bacon, as reported by herself, contains all that is now known of the matter, and probably all that was ever *known*, in the proper sense of the word. She had come up, I suppose, from Gorhambury for the purpose of the interview, and on the 23rd of January writes to her son Anthony:—

"After courteous and familiar speeches upon the cause of my coming hither and this unlooked for deferring,—to that point Sir Robert said, Indeed her Majesty was not well then. I said, Yesterday I went to see you, much more to my comfort if your body would let you be and see further, God having enabled your mind.—It is true, quoth he, he hath good parts, but gout and stone be too naturally drawn from parents.—Well (inquam) the eldest of my but two in all sons is visited by God, and the other methinks is but strangely used by man's dealing: God knows who and why. I think he is the very first young gentleman of some account made so long such a common speech of: this time placed, and then out of doubt, and yet nothing done. Enough to overthrow a young and studious man, as he is given indeed, and as fit by judgment of wiser both for years and understanding to occupy a place as the Attorney. The world marvels in respect of his friends and his own towardness.—Experience teacheth that her Majesty's nature is not to resolve, but to delay.—But with none so seen, quod I.—Why (inquit) she is yet without officers of three white staffs together: seldom seen: But, saith he, I daresay my Lord would gladly have had my cousin placed ere this.—I hope so myself, inquam: but some think if my Lord had been earnest it had been done.—Surely, saith he, my Lord even on last Tuesday moved the Queen that the term-day was near, and required a Solicitor for her service; and she straight should say it was a shame the place was so long unfurnished. No shame, Madam, inquit ille, but a lack. I may not name any, saith Majesty, nor other dare for fear of you and my Lord of Essex. I trust, saith my Lord, you are not without a nomination, but rather now to conclude. Is there none I pray you (inquit Majesty) but Francis Bacon fit for that place, Solicitor? I know not, inquit ille, how your Majesty may be altered, but the Judges and others have and do take him sufficient with your favour, and it is expected of all this term: whereto she gave no grant. And this saith and protesteth Sir Robert that my Lord did very plainly and in good faith.

"Then upon my word that himself was Secretary in place but not nominate,—As for that, saith he, I deal nor speak no more of it; but as long as none is placed I wait still, though I may think myself as hardly used

as my cousin. And I tell you plainly, Madam, I disdain to seem to be thought that I doubted of the place; and so would I wish my cousin Francis to do so long as the room vacant, and bear her delay so accustomed. Let him not be discouraged, but carry himself wisely. It may be (said he) her Majesty was too much pressed at the first, which she liketh not, and at last will come of herself. This in matter was the speech and parting to the Court: truly his speech was all kindly outward, and did desire to have me think so of him."[1]

2.

While Bacon's friends were thus doing what they could to speed this unfortunate suit, he was himself considering how to make an end of it, one way or another. He had made up his mind, in case he were not appointed Solicitor at the beginning of the next term, to give up the suit and the profession at once, to waste no more of his time and means in that attendance, but to make such arrangements as he best might for betaking himself to the life of a student; and in the first place to go abroad for awhile. This is what he had half determined to do some twenty months before, just before the Attorney-Generalship fell vacant; when he was persuaded to wait awhile, probably by Essex: to whom it seems that he now declared his intention to wait no longer, but do it at once. Essex, judging rightly enough that the Queen did not intend to lose Bacon altogether, thought to bring matters to a crisis by telling her what would happen if she delayed longer: a characteristic but unlucky move: for it was a kind of challenge which her spirit could never endure. On the same day on which Burghley had the conversation with Elizabeth the substance of which Sir R. Cecil reported to Lady Bacon, (Tuesday, Jan. 21), Bacon was sent for to the Court; and on Saturday sent his brother the following account of what passed.

The passage about his brother's "travels" alludes to his study of the affairs of Europe during ten years' residence abroad, the acquaintances he had cultivated, the information which he had supplied to Burghley and Walsingham, and the extensive correspondence which he still kept up: in consideration of which it was hoped that the Queen would find some employment for him in that line.

Good Brother,[2]

Since I saw you this hath passed.

Tuesday, though sent for, I saw not the Queen. Her Majesty

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650, fo. 21. Docketed "le 23me de Janvier, 1594."

[2] Lambeth MSS. 650. 28. Original: own hand. Docketed, "De Monsr Fr. Bacon a Monsr, 1594."

alleged she was then to resolve with her Counsel upon her places of law.

But this resolution was *ut supra;* and note the rest of the counsellors were persuaded she came rather forwards than otherwise. For against me she is never peremptory but to my Lord of Essex.

I missed a letter of my Lord Keeper's; but thus much I hear otherwise.

The Queen seemeth to apprehend my travel; whereupon I was sent for by Sir Robert Cecil in sort as from her Majesty; himself having of purpose immediately gone to London to speak with me, and not finding me there, he wrate to me. Whereupon I came to the Court, and upon his relation to me of her Majesty's speech, I desired leave to answer it in writing; not I said that I mistrusted his report but mine own wit; the copy of which answer I send; we parted in kindness *secundum exterius.*

This copy you must needs return; for I have no other; and I wrate this by memory after the original sent away.

The Queen's speech is after this sort. Why? I have made no Solicitor. Hath anybody carried a Solicitor with him in his pocket? But he must have it in his own time (as if it were but yesterday's nomination) or else I must be thought to cast him away. Then her Majesty sweareth that if I continue this manner, she will seek all England for a Solicitor rather than take me. Yea she will send for Houghton and Coventry[1] to-morrow next (as if she would swear them both). Again she entereth into it, that she never dealt so with any as with me (*in hoc erratum non est*); she hath pulled me over the bar (note the words, for they cannot be her own), she hath used me in her greatest causes. But this is Essex; and she is more angry with him than with me; and such-like speeches, so strange, as I should leese myself in it, but that I have cast off the care of it.

My conceit is, that I am the least part of mine own matter. But her Majesty would have a delay, and yet would not bear it herself. Therefore she giveth no way to me, and she perceiveth her counsel giveth no way to others, and so it sticketh as she would have it. But what the secret of it is *oculus aquilæ non penetravit.*

[1] Thomas Coventry, afterwards one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, and father of the Lord Keeper Coventry.—Birch.

My Lord[1] continueth on kindly and wisely a course worthy to obtain a better effect than a delay, which to me is the most unwelcome condition.

Now to perform the part of a brother and to render you the like kindness, Advise you whether it were not a good time to set in strongly with the Queen to draw her to honour your travels. For in the course I am like to take, it will be a great and a necessary stay to me, besides the natural comfort I shall receive. And if you will have me deal with my Lord of Essex, or otherwise break it by mean to the Queen, as that which shall give me full contentment, I will do it as effectually and with as much good discretion as I can. Wherein if you aid me with your direction, I shall observe it. This as I did ever account it sure and certain to be accomplished in case myself had been placed, and therefore deferred it till then as to the proper opportunity; so now that I see such delay in mine own placing, I wish *ex animo* it should not expect.

I pray let me know what mine uncle Killigrew will do. For I must now be more careful of my credit than ever, since I receive so little thence where I deserved best. And to be plain with you, I mean even to make the best of those small things I have with as much expedition as may be without loss; and so sing a mass of *requiem* I hope abroad; for I know her Majesty's nature, that she neither careth though the whole surname of the Bacons travelled, nor of the Cecils neither.

I have here an idle pen or two, specially one that was cozened, thinking to have gotten some money this term; I pray send me somewhat else for them to write out besides your Irish collection, which is almost done. There is a collection of Dr. James of foreign states, largeliest of Flanders, which, though it be no great matter, yet I would be glad to have it. Thus I commend you to God's good preservation. From my lodge at Twickenham Park, this 25th of January, 1594.

Your entire loving brother,

Fr. Bacon.

[1] Birch understood "My Lord" to mean Essex, and put the name in the margin. I rather suspect that Burghley is meant.

LETTER TO SIR R. CECIL, ENCLOSED IN THE LAST.[1]

Sir,

Your Honour may remember that upon your relation of her Majesty's speech touching my travel, I asked leave to make answer in writing; not but[2] I knew then what was true, but because I was careful to express it without doing myself wrong. And it is true I had then opinion to have written to her Majesty. But since, weighing with myself that her Majesty gave no ear to the motion made by yourself that I might answer it by mine own attendance, I began to doubt the second degree, whether it might not be taken for presumption in me to write to her Majesty; and so resolved that it was best for me to follow her Majesty's own way in committing it to your report.

It may please your Honour therefore to deliver to her Majesty, first, that it is an exceeding grief to me that any, not motion (for there was not now a motion), but mention that should come from me should offend her Majesty, whom for these one-and-twenty years (for so long it is[3] that I kissed her Majesty's hands upon my journey into France) I have used the best of my wits to please.

Next, mine answer standing upon two points, the one, that this mention of travel to my Lord of Essex was no present motion, suit, or request; but casting the worst of my fortune with an honourable friend that had long used me privately, I told his Lordship of this purpose of mine to travel, accompanying it with these very words, that upon her Majesty's rejecting me with such circumstance, though my heart might be good, yet mine eyes would be sore that I should take no pleasure to look upon my friends; for that I was not an impudent man, that could face out a disgrace; and that I hoped her Majesty would not be offended, if not being able to endure the sun, I fled into the shade.

The other, that it was more than this; for I did expressly and particularly (for so much wit God then lent me) by way of caveat restrain my Lord's good affection that he should in no wise utter or mention this matter till her Majesty had made a Solicitor;

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. 31. Copy by A. B.'s amanuensis: docketed, "Lre. de Monsr Fr. Bacon a Sr Robert Cicell, le de Janvier."

[2] *but because* in MS.; no doubt the transcriber's error.

[3] A mistake. "Sir Amice Paulett landed at Calais, going to be ambassador in France in place of Dr. Dale, 15th September, 1576." See Burghley's Diary. It was not so much as eighteen years and a half.

wherewith (now since my looking upon your letter) I did in a dutiful manner challenge my Lord, who very honourably acknowledged [it],[1] seeing he did it for the best; and therefore I leave his Lordship to answer for himself.

All this my Lord of Essex can testify to be true; and I report me to yourself, whether at the first, when I desired deliberation to answer, yet nevertheless said I would to you privately declare what had passed, I said not in effect so much. The conclusion shall be, that wheresoever God and her Majesty shall appoint me to live, I shall truly pray for her Majesty's preservation and felicity. And so I humbly commend me to you,

Your poor kinsman to do you service,

Fr. Bacon.

A letter to Essex, printed by Rawley in his supplementary collection, without date, must evidently have been written with reference to this same occasion, and was probably intended for the Queen to read.

To my Lord of Essex.[2]

It may please your good Lordship,

I am very sorry her Majesty should take my motion to travel in offence. But surely, under her Majesty's royal correction, it is such an offence as it should be an offence to the sun, when a man to avoid the scorching heat thereof flyeth into the shade. And your Lordship may easily think, that having now these twenty years (for so long it is, and more, since I went with Sir Amyas Paulet into France, from her Majesty's royal hand) made her Majesty's service the scope of my life, I shall never find a greater grief than this, *relinquere amorem primum*. But since *principia actionum sunt tantum in nostra potestate*, I hope her Majesty of her clemency, yea and justice, will pardon me, and not force me to pine here with melancholy. For though mine heart be good, yet mine eyes will be sore; so as I shall have no pleasure to look abroad: and if I should otherwise be affected, her Majesty in her wisdom will but think me an impudent man, that would face out a disgrace. Therefore, as I have ever found you my good Lord and true friend, so I pray

[1] This word is torn off. The next is probably miscopied, and should be *saying*.
[2] Rawley's 'Resuscitatio,' Supplement, p. 88.

open the matter so to her Majesty, as she may discern the necessity of it, without adding hard conceit to her rejection; of which, I am sure, the latter[1] I never deserved. Thus, etc.

3.

The question "what mine uncle Killegrew would do" (see above, p. 349) related of course to the borrowing of money. The Bacons were both much troubled at this time to satisfy creditors, among whom it seems that there was a Mr. Sugden who had a pressing claim. Anthony had applied on the 14th of January to his uncle Sir Henry Killegrew for a loan of £200 for six months; and (having I suppose received no answer) wrote again on the 23rd, "entreating him to believe that the circumstance of time was substantial and very important" and intimating his readiness to inform him of the particular occasion.[2] The result will appear from Anthony's answer to his brother's last letter, of which I give at length those paragraphs to which Francis's next letter has reference.

Good Brother,

Your proceeding and letter to Sir Robert Cecil I cannot but allow; the sequel and success whereof we must refer and submit to God. . . .

Touching myself, as I acknowledge with due thanks your brotherly kindness, so I must confess unto you freely and unfeignedly that finding myself by imperfection of nature not only careless of myself, but incapable what is best for myself, I will and do entirely commit myself to the resolution and direction of my most honourable friend and dearest brother.

My uncle Killegrew hath as they say uncled me with a frivolous excuse, grounded upon the refuse of his deputy Sugden, without whose help he said he could not furnish me; and therefore I am very sorry we ought him not three hundred pounds, being very well content that you should discharge yourself upon me, alleging to Sugden that if a special friend of mine, of whose kindness I made full account, had not frustrated my hope, he had ere this received satisfaction; which if you think meet I will affirm likewise unto him myself by letter, and request him to gratify me with the renewing of the bond for six months, with assurance that my uncle Killegrew will thank him in my particular behalf.[3]

Francis, I imagine, was now at Twickenham. We know that he did retire thither during the Term which commenced on the 23rd,[4] and the following undated letter, which is obviously the reply to the last, was probably written thence on the 27th of January. The manner

[1] So in Rawley's copy. But the *former*—i.e. hard conceit—is evidently meant.
[2] Lambeth MSS. 650, ff. 3, 4.
[3] Lambeth MSS. 650, f. 27. No date: but docketed, "26^{me} de Janvier, 1594."
[4] See letter to Burghley, 21st March, 1594.

in which Dr. Hammond is mentioned ("whom I was glad *to have here*, being a physician") seems to imply that he had been staying with him as a friend, not merely called in for advice: which would more naturally happen at Twickenham than at Gray's Inn. But it is not a question of importance. I do not know who the bride and bridegroom were, whose marriage festivities the Queen was to grace.

Good Brother,[1]

If you leave the matter to me, I am like both to deal with my Lord of Essex in it, attending the first occasion, and to fortify it otherwise as I will hereafter give you account, and where I doubt acquaint you in particular beforehand.

For Mr. Sugden, I had rather have brought payment than allegation. I ever doubted the resting upon mine uncle would come to nothing, and I desire you to do as you write, and yet I will endeavour to provide my part nevertheless, and the whole if I can.

Mr. Trott I have desired to be here after to-morrow, to see how he taketh this at second hand.

I desired Dr. Hammond to visit you from me, whom I was glad to have here, being a physician, and my complaint being want of digestion.

I hope by this time Antonio Perez hath seen the Queen dance (that is not it, but her disposition of body to be fresh and good I pray God both subjects and strangers may long be witnesses of). I would be sorry the bride and bridegroom should be as the weather hath fallen out, that is go to bed fair and rise lowring. Thus I commend you to God's best preservation.

Your entire loving brother,

Fr. Bacon.

4.

But Bacon was not yet to be released. He could not have gone abroad without a licence from the Queen, and as things stood he could not well have applied for one; certainly would not have got it except at the cost of seriously displeasing her. He travelled no further than his favourite retreat at Twickenham, which appears however to have been enough for his health of mind and body; for on the 7th of March his brother reports to Lady Bacon that he "has not

[1] Lambeth MSS. 650. f. 237. Original: own hand. No date; but docketed, "De Mons. Fr. Bacon, 1594."

seen him looking better." But the Solicitorship not having been filled up during the term, and Essex being still determined that he should have it, the canvassing time was not over yet. As Easter Term approached, preparations were to be made for another fight among the rival patrons, and Bacon had to reappear in the old part, of which how weary he was the letters which follow will sufficiently show. Many of them being undated, and the conditions of the case being so much alike in its different stages, I cannot be sure that I have placed them in the right order, or even that they all belong to this year. One or two may possibly have been written some months earlier, one or two some months later: but I do not doubt that the series, taken together, represents truly the state of things in the spring and summer of 1595; and if it be remembered at the same time that during all that period creditors who had lent money with alacrity to the expectant Attorney-General were becoming more and more alarmed for their security and less and less disposed to renew their bonds, and that every recurring pay-day threatened the brothers with demands which they hardly knew how to meet, the correspondence will be sufficiently intelligible, and allowance will be made for an occasional failure of patience, and perhaps a little unreasonable irritability.

An undated letter from Essex to Puckering belongs probably to this stage of the business:—

My very good Lord,[1]

The want of assistance from them which should be Mr. Fra. Bacon's friends makes me the more industrious myself, and the more earnest in soliciting mine own friends. Upon me the labour must lie of his establishment, and upon me the disgrace will light of his being refused. Therefore I pray your Lordship, now account me not as a solicitor only of my friend's cause, but as a party interessed in this: and employ all your Lordship's favour to me or strength for me in procuring a short and speedy end. For though I know it will never be carried any other way, yet I hold both my friend and myself disgraced by this protraction. More I would write, but that I know to so honourable and kind a friend this which I have said is enough. And so I commend your Lordship to God's best protection, resting,

At your Lordship's commandment,

ESSEX.

"They who should be Mr. Fr. Bacon's friends" were of course the Cecils; whose influence in Council was so great that they were easily suspected of not trying to further a cause which made so little progress.

[1] Harl. MSS. vol. 6997, fo. 205. Original: own hand.

We have seen that when Sir Robert sent to speak with Bacon a little after the 21st of January, they "parted in kindness, *secundum exterius*;" and that in his conversation with Lady Bacon about the same time, "his speech was all kindly *outward*." The qualification thus in both cases suggested shows that in neither case had he succeeded in inspiring perfect confidence in his sincerity. And not long after it seems to have been generally believed among Bacon's friends that he was secretly throwing obstructions in the way. Mr. Montagu says that he represented Bacon "as a speculative man indulging himself in philosophical reveries, and calculated more to perplex than to promote public business;"[1] a statement repeated with variations by all modern biographers; but for which I suspect there is no authority beyond what may be gathered from the letter which I place next, and which certainly, though it contains sufficient evidence that Bacon *suspected* him of having tried to discredit his abilities for business under pretence of praising his speculative gifts, does not say nearly so much as Mr. Montagu's report implies.[2] An admission in a subsequent letter to Burghley (21st of March), that he had "shown himself too credulous to idle hearsays in regard of his right honourable kinsman and good friend Sir R. Cecil," makes it probable that this letter belongs to this period and refers to this occasion.

To Sir Robert Cecil.[3]

Sir,

Your Honour knoweth my manner is, though it be not the wisest way, yet taking it for the honestest, to do as Alexander did by his physician, in drinking the medicine and delivering the advertisement of suspicion. So I trust on, and yet do not smother what I hear. I do assure you, Sir, that by a wise friend of mine, and not factious toward your Honour, I was told with asseveration that your Honour was bought by Mr. Coventry for two thousand angels; and that you wrought in a contrary spirit

[1] Life of Bacon, p. xxvi.

[2] Mr. Montagu says, "There is a letter containing this expression, but I cannot find it." I conceive that he was confusing an imperfect recollection that he had seen something about "speculation" in a letter, with an imperfect recollection of what he had read in Mallet's 'Life of Bacon;' which (as a good specimen of the growth of evidence as it passes from mouth to mouth) I may as well quote in juxtaposition with what I suppose to be all it grew out of. "Cecil, who mortally hated Essex, and had entertained a secret jealousy of Bacon on account of his superior talents, represented the latter to the Queen as a man of mere speculation, as one wholly given up to philosophical inquiries, new, indeed, and amusing, but fanciful and unsolid; and therefore more likely to distract her affairs than to serve her usefully and with proper judgment."

[3] Rawley's 'Resuscitatio,' Supplement, p. 87.

to my Lord your father. And he said further, that from your servants, from your Lady, from some counsellors that have observed you in my business, he knew you wrought underhand against me. The truth of which tale I do not believe. You know the event will show, and God will right. But as I reject this report (though the strangeness of my case might make me credulous), so I admit a conceit that the last messenger my Lord and yourself used dealt ill with your Honours; and that word (*speculation*) which was in the Queen's mouth, rebounded from him as a commendation: for I am not ignorant of those little arts. Therefore I pray, trust not him again in my matter. This was much to write; but I think my fortune will set me at liberty, who am weary of asserviling myself to every man's charity. Thus I, etc.

Another letter to Cecil, also undated, and of which (the most material part having been lost) there is nothing left to determine the date, refers apparently to some similar occasion; and in the absence of all reason for placing it anywhere in particular, may as well be disposed of here. Occasions of the kind would be continually occurring, for Cecil had a manner so open and friendly *secundum exterius*, and a temper so completely under command, that as long as he lived I think Bacon never felt quite sure whether he was his friend or not.

To Sir Robert Cecil.[1]

Sir,

I forbear not to put in paper as much as I thought to have spoken to your Honour to-day, if I could have stayed: knowing that if your Honour should make other use of it than is due to good meaning, and than I am persuaded you will, yet to persons of judgment, and that know me otherwise, it will rather appear (as it is) a precise honesty, and this same *suum cuique tribuere*, than any hollowness to any. It is my luck still to be akin to such things as I neither like in nature nor would willingly meet with in my course, but yet cannot avoid without show of base timorousness or else of unkind or suspicious strangeness. . . . .

[Some *hiatus* in the copy.]

And I am of one spirit still. I ever liked the

[1] Rawley's 'Resuscitatio,' Supplement, p. 110.

Galenists, that deal with good compositions; and not the Paracelsians, that deal with these fine separations: and in music, I ever loved easy airs, that go full all the parts together; and not these strange points of accord and discord. This I write not, I assure your Honour, officiously; except it be according to Tully's *Offices;* that is, honestly and morally. For though, I thank God, I account upon the proceeding in the Queen's service or not proceeding, both ways; and therefore neither mean to fawn nor retire; yet I naturally desire good opinion with any person which for fortune or spirit is to be regarded, much more with a secretary of the Queen's and a cousin-german; and one with whom I have ever thought myself to have some sympathy of nature, though accidents have not suffered it to appear. Thus not doubting of your honourable interpretation and usage of that I have written, I commend you to the Divine preservation. From Gray's Inn.

These two letters, being from the supplementary collection, are subject to the doubts which I noticed at the beginning of this chapter, and the inferences we draw from them are to be guarded accordingly. The next is from the original, and being found among Burghley's papers (to whom it is addressed), we need not doubt that it was both sent and received.

To the Lord High Treasurer.[1]

After the remembrance of my humble and bounden duty, it may please your good Lordship: The last term I drew myself to my house in the country, expecting that the Queen would have placed another Solicitor; and so I confess, a little to help digestion and to be out of eye, I absented myself. For I understood her Majesty not only to continue in her delay but (as I was advertised chiefly by my Lord of Essex) to be retrograde (to use the word apted to the highest powers). Since which time I have as in mine own conceit given over the suit, though I leave it to her Majesty's tenderness and the constancy of my honourable friends, so it be without pressing.

And now my writing to your Lordship is chiefly to give you thanks. For surely if a man consider the travail and not the event, a man is often more bound to his honourable friends for

[1] Lansd. MSS. lxxviii. fo. 74. Original: own hand.

a suit denied than for a suit succeeding. Herewithal I am bold to make unto your Lordship three requests, which ought to be very reasonable because they come so many at once. But I cannot call that reasonable which is only grounded upon favour. The first is, that your Lordship would yet *tueri opus tuum*, and give as much life unto this present suit for the Solicitor's place as may be without offending the Queen (for that were not good for me). The next is, that if I did show myself too credulous to idle hearsays in regard of my right honourable kinsman and good friend Sir Robert Cecil (whose good nature did well answer my honest liberty), your Lordship will impute it to the complexion of a suitor, and of a tired sea-sick suitor, and not to mine own inclination. Lastly, that howsoever this matter go, yet I may enjoy your Lordship's good favour and help as I have done in regard of my private estate, which as I have not altogether neglected so I have but negligently attended, and which hath been bettered only by yourself (the Queen except), and not by any other in matter of importance. This last request I find it more necessary for me to make, because (though I am glad of her Majesty's favour, that I may with more ease practise the law, which percase I may use now and then for my countenance) yet to speak plainly, though perhaps vainly, I do not think that the ordinary practice of the law, not serving the Queen in place, will be admitted for a good account of the poor talent which God hath given me; so as I make reckoning I shall reap no great benefit to myself in that course. Thus again desiring the continuance of your Lordship's goodness as I have hitherto found, and on my part sought also to deserve, I commend your good Lordship to God's good preservation. From Gray's Inn, this 21st of March, 1594.

Your Lordship's most humbly bounden,

FR. BACON.

The state of Bacon's spirits under this condition ("to him the most unwelcome") of interminable delay may be gathered well enough from the foregoing letters; but he writes to Burghley under a feeling of ceremonious restraint, to Sir Robert Cecil in an outbreak of impatience, to his brother as to one who already knew all he felt, and shared all his feelings. It is interesting therefore to know how he expresses himself to a familiar but not very intimate friend. A letter to Foulke Greville belongs apparently to this spring, and represents his condition in a very lively and natural manner.

To Foulke Greville.[1]

Sir,

I understand of your pains to have visited me, for which I thank you. My matter is an endless question. I assure you I had said *Requiesce anima mea:* but I now am otherwise put to my psalter; *Nolite confidere.* I dare go no further. Her Majesty had by set speech more than once assured me of her intention to call me to her service; which I could not understand but of the place I had been named to. And now whether *invidus homo hoc fecit;* or whether my matter must be an appendix to my Lord of Essex suit; or whether her Majesty, pretending to prove my ability, meaneth but to take advantage of some errors which, like enough, at one time or other I may commit; or what it is; but her Majesty is not ready to dispatch it. And what though the Master of the Rolls, and my Lord of Essex, and yourself, and others, think my case without doubt, yet in the meantime I have a hard condition, to stand so that whatsoever service I do to her Majesty, it shall be thought to be but *servitium viscatum,* lime-twigs and fetches to place myself; and so I shall have envy, not thanks. This is a course to quench all good spirits, and to corrupt every man's nature; which will, I fear, much hurt her Majesty's service in the end. I have been like a piece of stuff bespoken in the shop; and if her Majesty will not take me, it may be the selling by parcels will be more gainful. For to be, as I told you, like a child following a bird, which when he is nearest flieth away and lighteth a little before, and then the child after it again, and so *in infinitum,* I am weary of it; as also of wearying my good friends: of whom, nevertheless, I hope in one course or other gratefully to deserve. And so, not forgetting your business, I leave to trouble you with this idle letter, being but *justa et moderata querimonia:* for indeed I do confess, *primus amor* will not easily be cast off. And thus again I commend me to you.

The exact date of this last letter I have no means of determining: but I find that in May, 1595, the Earl of Essex had been engaged in one of his frequent contests with the Queen about some favour which he was seeking at her hands either for himself or for some of his friends; that having been on cold terms with her for awhile, he

[1] Rawley's 'Resuscitatio,' Supplement, p. 89.

was beginning to recover favour; but that "the book [*i.e.* the patent or grant], though faithfully promised, was not yet signed," and that it was thought "he would not to the Court again till that were done."[1] I conceive therefore that the signing of this "book" (whatever it was) may have been the "suit" to which Bacon thought his matter was perhaps to be an appendix.

However that may be, the vacation passed away, and still no resolution taken. Easter Term began on the 8th of May, and the Queen was still without a Solicitor-General. Upon which it seems that Bacon again withdrew to the quiet of Twickenham; thinking that at last the bird had flown fairly off, and that he was at liberty to make his arrangements according to his own tastes and purposes. From Twickenham, on the 25th of May, he wrote to Puckering the following short letter, on the back of which Puckering has written, 'Mr. Fr. Bacon, his contentation to leave the Solicitorship."

TO THE LORD KEEPER.[2]

It may please your Lordship,

I thought good to step aside for nine days, which is the durance of a wonder, and not for any dislike in the world; for I think her Majesty hath done me as great a favour in making an end of this matter, as if she had enlarged me from some restraint. And I humbly pray your Lordship, if it so please you, to deliver to her Majesty from me,—that I would have been glad to have done her Majesty service now in the best of my years, and the same mind remains in me still; and that it may be, when her Majesty hath tried others, she will think of him that she hath cast aside. For I will take it (upon that which her Majesty hath often said) that she doth reserve me and not reject me. And so I leave your good Lordship to God's good preservation. From Twicknam Park this 25th of May, 1595.

Your Lordship's much bounden,

FR. BACON.

5.

But the bird had not yet taken its final flight. Easter Term ended as it began, the place being still unsupplied, and the Queen's mind apparently not made up either way. Burghley had been ill and had to keep his house; confined, I suppose, by one of his frequent attacks

[1] Birch, Memoirs, i. p. 245.
[2] Harl. MSS., vol. 6997. fo. 26. Original: own hand.

of gout; and she had been to visit him there,—probably to consult him about the appointment. He mentioned Bacon. In the conversation which ensued (as I gather from the allusions in the next letter) it came out that his old offence in the affair of the money-bill in 1592-3, was still uppermost in her mind. And I suppose that this was after all the real impediment which stood in his way. It cannot be denied indeed (as I said before) that if she had reason to resent his conduct in that matter at all, she had reason to persevere in resenting it. For certainly he had neither said nor done anything to atone for it, or to imply that in a similar case he would not do the same again. If an offence at all, it was an offence not yet repented of. And I can well imagine that Elizabeth, though she would otherwise have been glad to promote him, and was in fact glad to employ him, had said to herself that until he showed a proper sense of the offence he had committed, he should not be an officer of hers. It does not appear however that she had yet held out hopes to any one else; and it may be that when she reminded Burghley of the old grievance, she meant it for a hint that there was still a *locus pœnitentiæ*, and that the penitence had still to be exhibited. Burghley, it seems, told Bacon where the obstruction lay. But on that point he had already given the only explanation he had to give, and could only repeat in substance what he had said two years before. The letter from which I gather these particulars (for it is but a conjectural explanation that I have offered) is given by Rawley in his principal collection, and therefore I presume was found in Bacon's own register,—preserved by his own care. It is contained also in Additional MSS. 5503, which for the reasons stated in my note, p. 233, I take as the best authority for the text.

A Letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, commending[1] his first suit, touching the Solicitor's place.[2]

After the remembrance of my most humble duty,

Though I know by late experience how mindful your Lordship vouchsafeth to be of me and my poor fortunes, since it pleased your Lordship during your indisposition, when her Majesty came to visit your Lordship, to make mention of me for my employment and preferment; yet being now in the country, I do presume that your Lordship, who of yourself had so honourable care of the matter, will not think it a trouble to be solicited therein. My hope is, that whereas your Lordship told me her Majesty was

[1] Resuscitatio, p. 1. Additional MSS. 5503, p. 1 b. [2] *recommending*: R.

somewhat gravelled upon the offence she took at my speech in Parliament, your Lordship's favourable and good word (who hath assured me that for your own part you construe[1] that I spake to the best) will be as a good tide to remove her from that shelf. And it is not unknown to your Lordship that I was the first of the ordinary sort of the Lower House of Parliament that spake for the subsidy; and that which I after spake in difference was but in circumstances of time and manner, which methinks should be no great matter, since there is variety allowed in counsel, as a discord in music, to make it more perfect. But I may justly doubt, not so much her Majesty's impression upon this particular, as her conceit otherwise of my insufficiency; which though I acknowledge to be great, yet it will be the less because I purpose not to divide myself between her Majesty and the causes of other men (as others have done) but to attend her business only: hoping that a whole man meanly able, may do as well as half a man better able. And if her Majesty thinketh that she shall make an adventure of choosing[2] one that is rather a man of study than of practice and experience; surely I may remember to have heard that my father (an example, I confess, rather ready than like) was made Solicitor of the Augmentation (a court of much business) when he had never practised, and was but twenty-seven years old; and Mr. Brograve was now in my time called to be Attorney of the Duchy, when he had practised little or nothing; and yet hath discharged his place with great sufficiency. But these things and the like are as her Majesty shall be made capable of them; wherein knowing what authority your Lordship's commendation hath with her Majesty, I conclude with myself that the substance of strength which I may receive will be from your Lordship. It is true my life hath been so private as I have had no means to do your Lordship service; but yet, as your Lordship knoweth, I have made offer of such as I could yield. For as God hath given me a mind to love the public, so incidently I have ever had your Lordship in singular admiration; whose happy ability her Majesty hath so long used, to her great honour and yours; besides that the amendment of state or countenance which I have received hath been from your Lordship. And therefore if your Lordship shall stand a good friend to your poor ally, you shall but proceed

[1] *construed*: R. [2] *in using*: R.

tuendo opus proprium which you have begun. And your Lordship shall bestow your benefit upon one that hath more sense of obligation than of self-love. Thus humbly desiring pardon of so long a letter, I wish your Lordship all happiness. This 7th of June, 1595.

Whether Burghley showed this letter to the Queen,—or if he did, how she liked it, and whether she thought the harmony of *her* counsels more perfect for that kind of discord,—we do not know: but though Trinity Term passed without any resolution taken, I find that Bacon was employed during that term in Star Chamber business; and judging from the tone of some letters to Lord Keeper Puckering during the early part of the long vacation (the only letters of his during the period that happen to have been preserved) I should think that he must have been at the time in considerable hope of succeeding after all. As Michaelmas Term approached however, this hope grew fainter, and by the 11th of October it appears to have been (upon what particular occasion I do not know) altogether extinguished.

The allusion in the letter which comes next, to "a condition in law knit to an interest, and supposed to be broken by misfesance," may perhaps have reference to the Clerkship of the Star Chamber, of which Bacon had the reversion, and of which the then possessor was a year or two afterwards tried in the Star Chamber for some supposed offences. It had probably been suggested to Bacon that by pressing the case to a forfeiture he might come into possession at once. The allusion is not meant to be intelligible except to the person addressed: but it must refer either to that or to something else of the kind.

To the Lord Keeper.[1]

It may please your good Lordship,

Not able to attend your Lordship myself before your going to the Court, by reason of an ague, which offered me a fit on Wednesday morning, but since by abstinence I thank God I have starved, yet so as now he hath turned his back I am chasing him away with a little physic; I thought good to write these few words to your Lordship, partly to signify my excuse, if need be, that I assisted not Mr. Attorney on Thursday last in the Star Chamber, at which time it is some comfort to me that I hear by relation somewhat was generally taken hold of by the Court which I formerly had opened and moved; and partly to

[1] Harl. MSS. vol. 6997, fo. 34. Original: own hand. Docketed "xi Julii, 95;" the date in the letter is plainly "this xith of June."

express a little my conceit touching the news which your Lordship last told me from the Queen, concerning a condition in law knit to an interest which your Lordship remembereth, and is supposed to be broken by misfesance. Wherein surely my mind, as far as it appertaineth to me, is this, that as I never liked not so much as the coming in upon a lease by way of forfeiture, so I am so much enemy to myself as I take no contentment in any such hope of advantage. For as your Lordship can give me best testimony that I never in my life propounded any such-like motion, though I have been incited thereto; so yet the world will hardly believe but that it is underhand quickened and nourished from me; and truly, my Lord, I would not be thought to supplant any man for great gain. I humbly pray your Lordship to continue your commendation and countenance to me in the course of the Queen's service that I am entered into: which when it shall please God to move the Queen to perfit, I hope I shall give cause for your Lordship to obtain as many thanks as you have endured chidings. And so I commend your good Lordship to God's good preservation. From Gray's Inn this 11th of June, 1595.

Your Lordship's most humbly at your hon. commandment,

FR. BACON.

This appears to be written in hope. What caused the change we do not know, but by the end of July it is clear that something had gone wrong, and Bacon's patience (the rather perhaps because he was out of health[1]) was beginning to give way. But the letters themselves will tell all I know of the remainder of the story, without further comment.

TO THE LORD KEEPER.[2]

It may please your Lordship,

There hath nothing happened to me in the course of my

[1] 30th June, 1595. Lady B. to A. B. "Crosby told me he looked very ill, he thought. He taketh still inward grief, I fear. . . ." 5th Aug. "I am sorry your brother with inward secret grief hindereth his health. Everybody saith he looketh thin and pale. Let him look to God, and confer with Him in godly exercises of hearing and reading, and contemn to be noted to take care. I had rather ye both, with God his blessed favour, had very good health and well out of debt than any office. Yet, though the Earl showed great affection, he marred all with violent courses. . . . Let your brother be of good cheer. Alas, what excess of bucks at Gray's Inn; and to feast it so on the Sabbath! God forgive and have mercy upon England."—Lamb. MSS. 651. 211.

[2] Harl. MSS. vol. 6997, p. 72. Original: own hand. Carefully written.

business more contrary to my expectation, than your Lordship's failing me and crossing me now in the conclusion, when friends are best tried. But now I desire no more favour of your Lordship than I would do if I were a suitor in the Chancery; which is this only, that you would do me right. And I for my part, though I have much to allege, yet nevertheless if I see her Majesty settle her choice upon an able man, such a one as Mr. Serjeant Fleming, I will make no means to alter it. On the other side, if I perceive any insufficient obscure idole man offered to her Majesty, then I think myself double bound to use the best means I can for myself; which I humbly pray your Lordship I may do with your favour, and that you will not disable me furder than is cause. And so I commend your Lordship to God's preservation. From Gray's Inn, this 28th of July, 1595.

That beareth your Lordship all humble respect,

FR. BACON.

Indorsed, in the Lord Keeper's hand, *Mr. Bacon wronging me.*

TO THE LORD KEEPER.[1]

It may please your Lordship,

I thought it became me to write to your Lordship, upon that which I have understood from my Lord of Essex; who vouchsafed as I perceive to deal with your Lordship of himself to join with him in the concluding of my business, and findeth your Lordship hath conceived offence, as well upon my manner when I saw your Lordship at Temple last, as upon a letter which I did write to your Lordship some time before. Surely, my Lord, for my behaviour, I am well assured I omitted no point of duty or ceremony towards your Lordship. But I know too much of the Court to beg a countenance in public place, where I make account I shall not receive it. And for my letter, the principal point of it was, that which I hope God will give me grace to perform; which is, that if any idole man be offered to her Majesty, (since it is mixt with my particular) to inform her Majesty truly, which I must do as long as I have a tongue to speak or a pen to write or a friend to use. And furder I remember not of my

[1] Harl. MSS. 6997, fo. 86. Original: own hand. Carefully written.

letter, except it were that I writ, I hoped your Lordship would do me no wrong, which hope I do still continue. For if it please your Lordship but to call to mind from whom I am descended, and by whom, next to God, her Majesty, and your own virtue, your Lordship is ascended; I know you will have a compunction of mind to do me any wrong. And therefore, good my Lord, when your Lordship favoureth others before me, do not lay the separation of your love and favour upon myself. For I will give no cause, neither can I acknowledge any where none is; but humbly pray your Lordship to understand things as they are. Thus sorry to write to your Lordship in an argument which is to me unpleasant though necessary, I commend your Lordship to God's good preservation. From Twicknam Park, this 19th of August, 1595.

Your Lordship's in all humble respect,

FR. BACON.

THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD KEEPER PUCKERING.[1]

My Lord,

In my last conference with your Lordship, I did entreat you both to forbear hurting of Mr. Fra. Bacon's cause, and to suspend your judgment of his mind towards your Lordship, till I had spoken with him. I went since that time to Twicknam Park to confer with him, and had signified the effect of our conference by letter ere this, if I had not hoped to have met with your Lordship, and so to have delivered it by speech. I told your Lordship when I last saw you, that this manner of his was only a natural freedom and plainness, which he had used with me, and in my knowledge with some other of his best friends, than[2] any want of reverence towards your Lordship; and therefore I was more curious to look into the moving cause of this style, than into the form of it; which now I find to be only a diffidence of your Lordship's favour and love towards him, and no alienation of that dutiful mind which he hath borne towards your Lordship. And therefore I am fully persuaded that if your Lordship would please to send for him, there would grow so good satisfaction as hereafter he should enjoy your Lordship's honourable favour in as great a measure as ever, and your Lordship have the use of his service, who I assure your Lordship is as strong in his kindness as you find him in his jealousy. I will use no argument to persuade your Lordship that I should be glad of his being restored to your Lordship's wonted favour; since your Lordship both knoweth how much my credit is engaged in his fortune, and may easily judge how sorry I should be that a gentleman whom I love so

[1] Harl. MSS. vol. 6997, p. 92. Original: own hand. [2] So MS.

much should lack the favour of a person whom I honour so much. And thus commending your Lordship to God's best protection, I rest,

Your Lordship's very assured,

Essex.[1]

To the Lord Keeper.[2]

It may please your good Lordship,

I was minded according to the place of employment though not of office wherein I serve, for my better direction and the advancement of the service, to have acquainted your Lordship now before the term with such her Majesty's causes as are in my hands. Which course intended out of duty, I do now find by that I hear from my Lord of Essex, your Lordship of your favour is willing to use for my good upon that satisfaction you may find in my travels. And I now send to your Lordship, together with my humble thanks, to understand of your Lordship's being at Kew what part of to-morrow, to the end I may attend your Lordship, which this afternoon I cannot, in regard of some conference I have appointed with Mr. Attorney-General. And so I commend your honourable Lordship to God's good preservation. From Gray's Inn, this 25th of September, Friday.[3]

Your good Lordship's humbly at your hon. commandments.

Fr. Bacon.

To the Lord Keeper.[4]

It may please your good Lordship,

I am sorry the opportunity permitteth me not to attend your Lordship as I minded. But I hope your Lordship will not be the less[5] sparing in using the argument of my being studied and prepared in the Queen's causes for my furtherance upon belief, than if I had imparted to your Lordship my travels, which some times next week I mean to do. Neither have I been able to con-

[1] No date; but indorsed, in the Lord Keeper's hand, "31 Aug., '95. My Lord of Essex to have me send for Mr. Bacon, for he will satisfy me."

[2] Harl. MSS. 6996, fo. 214. Original: own hand.

[3] I can hardly doubt that this letter and the next refer to the same business; they fit so well in all points but one. It is true, however, that the 25th of September did not fall on a Friday in 1595; but neither did it so fall in any year between 1590 and 1601. There must be a mistake therefore, and I suppose the letters were really written on the 26th.

[4] Harl. MSS. vol. 6997, fo. 115. Original: own hand.

[5] So MS.

fer with Mr. Attorney as I desired, because he was removing from one building to another. And besides he alleged his note-book was in the country at Oysterly,[1] and so we respited it to some time next week. I think he will rather do me good offices than otherwise, except it be for the township your Lordship remembereth by the verse. Thus I commend your honourable Lordship to God's good preservation. From Gray's Inn, this 25th of September, 1595.

Your Lordship's most humble
at your hon. commandment,
FR. BACON.

TO THE LORD KEEPER.[2]

It may please your good Lordship,

My not acquainting your Lordship hath proceeded of my not knowing anything, and my not knowing of my absence at Byssam with my Lady Russel upon some important cause of her son's. And as I have heard nothing, so I look for nothing, though my Lord of Essex sent me word he would not write till his Lordship had good news. But his Lordship may go on in his affection, which nevertheless myself have desired him to limit. But I assure your Lordship, I can take no furder care for the matter. I am now at Twicknam Park, where I think to stay: for her Majesty placing a Solicitor, my travel shall not need in her causes; though whensoever her Majesty shall like to employ me in any particular, I shall be ready to do her willing service. This I write lest your Lordship mought think my silence came of any conceit towards your Lordship, which I do assure you I have not. And this needed I not to do if I thought not so. For my course will not give me any ordinary occasion to use your favour, whereof nevertheless I shall ever be glad. So I commend your good Lordship to God's holy preservation. This 11th of October, 1595.

Your Lordship's humbly at your hon. com̃.,
FR. BACON.

[1] A house in Heston, Middlesex, built by Sir Thomas Gresham, of which (says Nichols, Progresses, ii. 280), "soon after Lady Gresham's death, Lord Chief Justice Coke (then Attorney-General) appears to have been an inhabitant."

[2] Harl. MSS. vol. 6997, fo. 117. Original: own hand. Written in a hurry.

To the Lord Keeper.[1]

It may please your good Lordship,

I conceive the end already made, which will I trust be to me a beginning of good fortune, or at least of content. Her Majesty by God's grace shall live and reign long. She is not running away, I may trust her. Or whether she look towards me or no, I remain the same, not altered in my intention. If I had been an ambitious man, it would have overthrown me. But minded as I am, *revertet benedictio mea in sinum meum.* If I had made any reckoning of anything to be stirred, I would have waited on your Lordship, and will be at any time ready to wait on you to do you service. So I commend your good Lordship to God's holy preservation. From Twicknam Park, this 14th of October.

Your Lordship's most humble
at your hon. commandments,
Fr. Bacon.

Indorsed: 14th October, '95.

6.

At last then the chase was really at an end. The Queen had finally resolved that Bacon should not be her Solicitor-General, and on the 5th of November following, Serjeant Fleming received the patent of the office. It does not appear however that the resolution was brought on by any new offence given either by Bacon or Essex, or by any fresh distaste conceived by the Queen. Rather, I think, it was the end of that long displeasure. In the beginning of March, 1592-3, he had done a thing which Elizabeth did not choose persons in her service to do. As a member of the House of Commons representing Middlesex, he had taken a leading part in a movement which was certainly opposed to the wishes of the Government, and ended (if my interpretation of the proceedings be correct) in the defeat of a project for getting rid of one of the most important privileges of the Lower House, —most important to them and by consequence most inconvenient in many cases to the Crown. He was a young man, however, of unquestioned and most affectionate loyalty, attached to the Crown by all ties both of interest and feeling; and he might see his error and make amends. Reward and punishment lay before him month after

[1] Harl. MSS. vol. 6997, fo. 119. Original: own hand.

month and year after year, and he was still free to choose. The Attorney-Generalship was kept vacant for a year; during which it was twice at least intimated to him, that his conduct in Parliament was the thing which stood most in his way. When the Attorney-Generalship was filled up, the Solicitorship was kept vacant for a year and a half, during which the same intimation was once at least conveyed to him. But all this time he had shown no symptom of repentance,—no consciousness even of having done anything wrong. In April, 1593, all he had to say was that he had said nothing but what he thought it his duty to say; and in June, 1595, he had nothing to add in the way of excuse, except that the points in which he had opposed the Government proposition were only "circumstances of time and manner," and that "variety is allowed in counsel as a discord in music, to make it more perfect." Upon this point then it seemed that he was incorrigible; he could not see, or would not own, his fault; and he must take the consequences. But Elizabeth, though she could not bring herself to pardon such an offence, was not the less likely to feel respect for such an offender. And it seems that she was willing to let the final rejection of his suit for the Solicitorship pass for a full quittance, and allow the cloud which had so long hung upon her countenance to clear away.

7.

To the Earl of Essex the decision was in every way a mortification. He felt his friend's disappointment as his own; his whole credit for influence at Court had been notoriously staked upon success in this suit; and such a friend in such an office would have been a material support to him; so that it was a real loss to him in all respects. And if he was not yet convinced that his method of dealing with the Queen was unwise, he must at least have felt keenly that it had been in this case unlucky, and that Bacon had always disapproved of it, and warned him what it would come to. So deeply indebted as the Bacons were to him for his endeavours in this matter, they could not of course criticize the manner of them: but we know that in the management of his own affairs it was a point on which he and Bacon always "directly and contradictorily differed:" and when Lady Bacon said that "though the Earl showed great affection yet he marred all with violent courses," there can be little doubt now that she made a true judgment. In the account between him and Bacon the obligation was not all on one side. Bacon owed him much for his friendship, trust, and eager endeavours to serve him. He owed Bacon much

not only for affection and zeal, but for time and pains gratuitously spent in his affairs. These he had done his best to requite in the best way—namely by advancing him in his profession; but having failed, he (not unnaturally) desired to make him some reparation. And this he accordingly did with characteristic ardour and generosity. Of the particulars of the transaction, and indeed of the transaction itself, our only information is derived from Bacon's own narrative, published nine years after. And as subsequent events give it a peculiar importance, I shall quote at length all that relates to it.

"After the Queen had denied me the Solicitor's place, for the which his Lordship had been a long and earnest suitor on my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from Richmond to Twicknam Park, and brake with me, and said, 'Master Bacon, the Queen hath denied me yon place for you, and hath placed another; I know you are the least part of your own matter, but you fare ill because you have chosen me for your mean and dependence; you have spent your time and thoughts in my matters: I die (these were his very words) if I do not somewhat towards your fortune: you shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you.' My answer I remember was, that for my fortune it was no great matter, but that his Lordship's offer made me to call to mind what was wont to be said when I was in France of the Duke of Guise, that he was the greatest usurer in France, because he had turned all his estate into obligations; meaning that he had left himself nothing, but only had bound numbers of persons to him. 'Now, my Lord,' said I, 'I would not have you imitate his course, nor turn your state thus by great gifts into obligations, for you will find many bad debtors.' He bade me take no care for that, and pressed it: whereupon I said, 'My Lord, I see I must be your homager and hold land of your gift: but do you know the manner of doing homage in law? Always it is with a saving of his faith to the king and his other lords: and therefore, my Lord' (said I) 'I can be no more yours than I was, and it must be with the ancient savings: and if I grow to be a rich man, you will give me leave to give it back to some of your unrewarded followers.'"

The end was that the Earl "enfeoffed" Bacon "of land," which he afterwards "sold for £1800, and thought was more worth." The land in question is said (probably enough, though on no better authority, so far as I know, than Bushell, upon whose authority I do not myself believe anything) to have been in Twickenham Park,—a piece, perhaps, adjoining Bacon's lodge there. It was certainly at this time that he received from the Crown a lease of certain lands at Twickenham, for twenty-one years, dating from Michaelmas, 1624, upon the same terms on which they had formerly been held by Edward Bacon,

and were then held by one Milo Dodding; viz. a rent of twelve guineas a year. It was granted however in consideration of the services and at the suit of one Ralph Fletcher—"unum Valett' de le Vestrie in Hospitio nostro"—of whose relations with Bacon and interest in the matter we know nothing; and probably formed part of a transaction of which the history has not been preserved. The grant of the reversion of the lease is dated the 17th of November, 1595;[1] and, however he came by it, was a thing of value, upon the security of which money could be raised. In the meantime the transfer of the lease to a stranger did not interfere with his occupation, for he continued to reside at Twickenham Park as before.

As I find that the Court was at Richmond from the 20th of October, 1595, to the 5th of November,[2] or thereabouts, I suppose this conversation took place within that period: perhaps after the Queen's resolution had been taken, and before the place had been actually given to Fleming. The next letter, which comes from Rawley's supplementary collection and has no date, may have been written a few days after, when everything was settled; and the last sentence may have reference to the munificent present for which Bacon had already made his acknowledgments in the manner above reported.

TO MY LORD OF ESSEX.[3]

It may please your good Lordship,

I pray God her Majesty's weighing be not like the weight of a balance; *gravia deorsum, levia sursum.* But I am as far from being altered in devotion towards her, as I am from distrust that she will be altered in opinion towards me, when she knoweth me better. For myself, I have lost some opinion, some time, and some means; this is my account: but then for opinion, it is a blast that goeth and cometh; for time, it is true it goeth and cometh not; but yet I have learned that it may be redeemed.

For means, I value that most; and the rather, because I am purposed not to follow the practice of the law: (If her Majesty command me in any particular, I shall be ready to do her willing service:) and my reason is only, because it drinketh too much time, which I have dedicated to better purposes. But even for that point of estate and means, I partly lean to Thales' opinion, That a philosopher may be rich if he will. Thus your Lordship

[1] See a copy of the patent in Dixon's 'Personal History of Lord Bacon,' p. 359.
[2] Birch's Memoirs, i. 312.
[3] Resuscitatio, Supplement, p. 111.

seeth how I comfort myself; to the increase whereof I would fain please myself to believe that to be true which my Lord Treasurer writeth; which is, that it is more than a philosopher morally can disgest. But without any such high conceit, I esteem it like the pulling out of an aching tooth, which, I remember, when I was a child and had little philosophy, I was glad of when it was done. For your Lordship, I do think myself more beholding to you than to any man. And I say, I reckon myself as a *common* (not popular, but *common*); and as much as is lawful to be enclosed of a common, so much your Lordship shall be sure to have.

Your Lordship's, to obey your honourable commands,
more settled than ever.

The remarkable sentence with which this letter concludes, I cannot understand otherwise than as a warning, similar to that with which the conversation at Twickenham concluded, and suggested by some apprehension that Essex might misunderstand the nature of the relation between them, and expect from Bacon a devotion incompatible with his devotion to the State, which had the first claim upon him. "I can be no more yours than I was: it must be with the ancient savings—that is, of faith to the king and his other lords." I am but "as a common;" you can have for your own share only "so much as is lawful to be enclosed:" that is, I can only offer you such services as can be lawfully rendered by one whose chief service is due to the State. It is true that Essex was still a loyal subject, and that all the objects of his personal ambition lay as yet within the limits of patriotism and duty. But he had already engaged deeply in a game very dangerous to play at with such a nature as the Queen's. The history of his relation with the Court is a history of quarrels and reconciliations, provocations given and forgiven, the liberties of a spoiled child with a mother, whose affection though mortified and irritated cannot afford to sacrifice him; each victory emboldening him to repeat the same experiment, without considering that patience has its limits, and that every successive strain put upon the affection leaves it less able to endure another. It was a point in which Bacon had always thought Essex in the wrong, and told him what would come of it. But though he listened, he was not convinced; and it seems to me that Bacon had already begun to fear that these repeated trials of the Queen's affection (there being, I fancy, not much real affection on Essex's part to temper provocations on his side) might end at last in some fatal alienation.

I do not doubt that Essex's benefaction looked to the past and not to the future, and was bestowed out of the frank generosity of a nature in that respect truly noble, without any thought of conditions or requitals. But it was not the less desirable to remind him that he was dealing with one whose duty was pre-engaged, and who could have nothing to do with any factious dependence. And such a warning was naturally suggested by the condition of the times, which were full of serious alarms. At that very time the news from Ireland was very bad, and great offensive preparations were known to be making by Spain, which it was thought might issue in another Armada this very autumn.

8.

For the present, however, the differences which had been between Essex and the Queen, and which had lately looked very serious, cleared suddenly away, leaving fairer weather than ever. A book on the forbidden subject of the succession had appeared in Holland, with a dedication to Essex as the man who, in respect of "nobility, calling, favour with his prince, and high liking of the people," was likely to have most sway in deciding this great affair, etc. This book came into the Queen's hands, who showed it to Essex (3rd November) in a manner which greatly disturbed him, and they say made him fall really ill. But the Queen coming to visit him, and being satisfied, I suppose, that he had had nothing to do with it, made all fair again. And on the 12th of November the Court news was that "my Lord of Essex had put off the melancholy he fell into by a printed book delivered to the Queen; wherein the harm was meant him, by her Majesty's gracious favour and wisdom is turned to his good, and strengthens her love unto him; for I hear that within these four days many letters sent to herself from foreign countries were delivered only to my Lord of Essex, and he to answer them."[1] And a few days after we find him adorning the triumphs of the Queen's day with a "device;" of which, as Bacon had a principal hand in it, I shall now give what particulars I can, and so close this chapter,—one of the most tiresome chapters in Bacon's real life, and not much livelier in the narrative of it.

A contemporary report, written four days after, runs thus:—

"My Lord of Essex's device is much commended in these late triumphs. Some pretty while before he came in himself to the tilt, he sent his page with some speech to the Queen, who returned with her Majesty's glove. And when he came himself, he was met with an old Hermit, a Secretary of

[1] Sydney Papers, i. 360.

State, a brave Soldier, and an Esquire. The first presented him with a book of meditations; the second with political discourses; the third with orations[1] of brave-fought battles; the fourth was but his own follower, to whom the other three imparted much of their purpose before he came in. Another[2] devised with him, persuading him to this or that course of life, according to their inclinations. Comes into the tiltyard unthought upon the ordinary postboy of London, a ragged villain all bemired, upon a poor lean jade, galloping and blowing for life, and delivered the Secretary a packet of letters, which he presently offered my Lord of Essex; and with this dumb show our eyes were fed for that time. In the after-supper, before the Queen, they[3] first delivered a well-penned speech to move this worthy knight to leave his vain following of Love, and to betake him to heavenly meditation: the secretaries all tending to have him follow matters of state, the soldiers persuading him to the war; but the esquire answered them all, and concluded with an excellent but too plain English, that this knight would never forsake his mistress's love, whose Virtue made all his thoughts divine, whose Wisdom taught him all true policy, whose Beauty and Worth were at all times able to make him fit to command armies. He showed all the defects and imperfections of all their times, and therefore thought his course of life to be best in serving his mistress. The old man was he that in Cambridge played Giraldy, Morley played the Secretary, and he that played Pedantiq was the soldier, and Toby Matthew acted the Squire's part. The world makes many untrue constructions of these speeches, comparing the Hermit and the Secretary to two of the lords, and the Soldier to Sir Roger Williams; but the Queen said that if she had thought there had been so much said of her, she would not have been there that night, and so went to bed."[4]

It is not much that one can gather from this report (which appears moreover to have suffered from errors of the transcriber) as to the character of the entertainment; but it serves to identify as belonging to it, a paper without heading, docket, or date, found in the Lambeth collection; which paper is further proved by some notes and portions of the rough draft still extant in Bacon's handwriting to be of his composition.

One of these fragments enables us to get a clearer idea of the plot of the piece than can be gathered from the report just quoted. It seems to have been a sequel to some former device of the same kind; in which Philautia, the goddess of Self-love, had been represented as addressing some persuasion to the Queen (probably against giving way to her affection for Erophilus), and had been answered by her Squire. On this occasion Philautia is represented as endeavouring to persuade Erophilus not to give way to his affection for the Queen.

[1] *Sic*: qy. 'narrations'?
[2] *Sic*: qy. 'as these,' and change the full-stop into a comma? [3] *Sic*.
[4] Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney, 22nd November, 1595. Sydney Papers, i. 362.

A page in Bacon's own most careless hand,[1] which seems to be a discarded beginning, explains the design.

> "The persons to be three: one dressed like an Heremite or Philosopher, representing Contemplation; the second like a Capitain, representing Fame; and the third like a Counsellor of Estate, representing Experience: the third to begin to the Squire, as being the master of the best behaviour or compliment, though he speak last.
>
> "Since Lady Philautia, whose interview with you you cannot but remember, what time your opposition against the force of her arguments was like the opposition of a rainbow against the sun, pretty colours but easily scattered, this lady hath since taken some remorse towards your Master Erophilus; for finding that he hath prevailed with his mistress, and so made his condition more unequal, she taketh herself bound in . . .[2] not to leave him wholly at disadvantage, and therefore hath sent us to treat with him for his own good. . . ."

Another paper belonging to the same bundle, and also in Bacon's handwriting, is in the form of a letter from Philautia to the Queen; to be delivered, I suppose, by the ambassadors, and serve for their introduction. Its natural place in the entertainment would be at the commencement of proceedings after supper in the presence. The notes are in Bacon's hand like the rest, and written in the margin opposite to the sentences to which I have referred them. They are not however part of the composition, but comments upon it addressed to the Earl of Essex.

Excellent Queen, Making report to Pallas, upon whom Philautia depends,[3] of my last audience with your Majesty and of the opposition I found by the feigning tongue of a disguised Squire, and also of the inclination of countenance and ear which I discerned in your Majesty rather towards my ground than to his voluntary, the Goddess allowed well of my endeavour and said no more at that time. But few days since she called me to her, and told me that my persuasions had done good,[4] yet that it was not amiss to refresh them. I attending in silence her

[1] Gibson Papers, vol. viii. No. 274.
[2] I could not make out this word.
[3] Frustra sapit qui sibimet sapit.
[4] That your Lordship knoweth whether the Queen have profited in Self-Love.

furder pleasure, after a little pause putting her shield before her eyes as she useth when she studieth to resolve, Better (said she) raise the siege than send continual succours, and that may be done by stratagem. This, Philautia, shall you do. Address yourself to Erophilus. You know the rest: we shall see what answer or invention the Goddess of fools (?) (so many times she will call Jupiter's fair daughter) will provide for him against your assailings. And then the alone Queen[1] (so she ever terms your Majesty) will see that she hath had Philautia's first offer, and that if she reject it, it will be received elsewhere to her disadvantage. And upon my humble reverence to depart she cleared (?) her countenance, and said, The time makes for you.[2] I gladly received her instructions. Only because I had negotiated with your Majesty myself I would not vouchsafe to deal with an inferior in person: but have put them in commission that your Majesty will see can very well acquit themselves, and will at least make you sport, which Philautia for a vale desireth you to contrive out of all others' earnest, and so kisseth your serene hands, and resteth,

Your Majesty's faithful remembrancer,

PHILAUTIA.

Then follows the beginning of the speech of the Hermit,—a first draft, I suppose,—afterwards entirely rewritten, as we shall see.

The Speech of the Heremite or Philosopher, in wish of Contemplation or Studies.

Squire,

Bear unto thy master my advice as a token wrapped up now in few words, but then it will show fair when it shall be unfolded in his experience.

Let him not borrow other men's opinions to direct himself: Either they feel not that which he feeleth, or they set him the way to their own journey's end.

Neither let him tie himself to the courses he is already entered into; but let him make the time to come the disciple of the time past and not the servant.

[1] I pray God she be not too much alone, but it is a name of excellency and virginity.

[2] That your Lordship knoweth, and I in part, in regard of the Queen's unkind dealing, which may persuade you to self-love.

Will he never discern manacles from bracelets, nor burdens from robes? Will he never cease to profess that is not believed, to offer that is not accepted, and to tax himself at that which is not remitted? Doth he not perceive that the infiniteness of the affection which he pretendeth and the obligation which he acknowledgeth doth but diminish the thanks of his services, procure the more easily imputations, and make him serve but for to discharge passion, to exercise humour, and to triumph over in power? Can he find none that he loveth ill enough to resign unto such conditions? . . .

Here the MS. ends at the bottom of the first page of the sheet, leaving the other three pages blank. It seems that Bacon had thrown this aside and begun afresh; for in another volume of the same collection[1] there is a paper containing four speeches,—the Squire's speech in the tiltyard, the Hermit's, the Soldier's, and the Secretary's speeches in the presence,—fairly copied; in which much of the Hermit's speech is transferred to the Secretary. The paper has no heading, date, or docket; but a comparison of it with Rowland Whyte's description and with the fragments above given will leave no doubt either as to the occasion or the authorship.

The Squire's Speech in the Tiltyard.

Most excellent and most glorious Queen, give me leave, I beseech your Majesty, to offer my master his complaint and petition; complaint that coming hither to your Majesty's most happy day, he is tormented with the importunity of a melancholy dreaming Hermit, a mutinous brain-sick Soldier, and a busy tedious Secretary. His petition is that he may be as free as the rest, and at least whilst he is here, troubled with nothing but with care how to please and honour you.

The Hermit's Speech in the Presence.

Though our ends be diverse, and therefore may be one more just than another, yet the complaint of this Squire is general, and therefore alike unjust against us all. Albeit he is angry that we offer ourselves to his master uncalled, and forgets we come not of ourselves but as the messengers of Self-love, from whom all that comes should be well taken. He saith when we

[1] Gibson Papers, vol. v. No. 118.

come we are importunate. If he mean that we err in form, we have that of his master, who being a lover useth no other form of soliciting. If he will charge us to err in matter, I for my part will presently prove that I persuade him to nothing but for his own good. For I wish him to leave turning over the book of fortune, which is but a play for children, where there be so many books of truth and knowledge better worthy the revolving, and not fix his view only upon a picture in a little table, where there be so many tables of histories, yea to life, excellent to behold and admire. Whether he believe me or no, there is no prison to the prison of the thoughts, which are free under the greatest tyrants. Shall any man make his conceit as an anchor, mured up with the compass of one beauty or person, that may have the liberty of all contemplation? Shall he exchange the sweet travelling through the universal variety for one wearisome and endless round or labyrinth? Let thy master, Squire, offer his service to the Muses. It is long since they received any into their court. They give alms continually at their gate, that many come to live upon; but few have they ever admitted into their palace. There shall he find secrets not dangerous to know, sides and parties not factious to hold, precepts and commandments not penal to disobey. The gardens of love wherein he now playeth himself are fresh to-day and fading to-morrow, as the sun comforts them or is turned from them. But the gardens of the Muses keep the privilege of the golden age; they ever flourish and are in league with time. The monuments of wit survive the monuments of power: the verses of a poet endure without a syllable lost, while states and empires pass many periods. Let him not think he shall descend, for he is now upon a hill as a ship is mounted upon the ridge of a wave; but that hill of the Muses is above tempests, always clear and calm; a hill of the goodliest discovery that man can have, being a prospect upon all the errors and wanderings of the present and former times. Yea, in some cliff[1] it leadeth the eye beyond the horizon of time, and giveth no obscure divinations of times to come. So that if he will indeed lead *vitam vitalem*, a life that unites safety and dignity, pleasure and merit; if he will win admiration without envy; if he will be in the feast and not in the throng, in the light and not in the heat; let him embrace the life of study and contem-

[1] So MS. Qy. 'as from a cliff'?

plation. And if he will accept of no other reason, yet because the gift of the Muses will enworthy him in his love, and where he now looks on his mistress's outside with the eyes of sense, which are dazzled and amazed, he shall then behold her high perfections and heavenly mind with the eyes of judgment, which grow stronger by more nearly and more directly viewing such an object.

The Soldier's Speech.

Squire, the good old man hath said well to you, but I dare say thou wouldst be sorry to leave to carry thy master's shield, and to carry his books, and I am sure thy master had rather be a falcon, a bird of prey, than a singing-bird in a cage. The Muses are to serve martial men, to sing their famous actions, and not to be served by them. Then hearken to me.

It is the wars that giveth all spirits of valour not only honour but contentment. For mark whether ever you did see a man grown to any honourable commandment in the wars, but whensoever he gave it over he was ready to die with melancholy? Such a sweet felicity is in that noble exercise, that he that hath tasted it throughly is distasted for all other. And no marvel; for if the hunter take such solace in his chase, if the matches and wagers of sport pass away with such satisfaction and delight, if the looker-on be affected with pleasure in the representation of a feigned tragedy, think what contentment a man receiveth when they that are equal to him in nature from the height of insolency and fury are brought to the condition of a chased prey, when a victory is obtained whereof the victories of games are but counterfeits and shadows, and when in a lively tragedy a man's enemies are sacrificed before his eyes to his fortune. Then for the dignity of military profession, is it not the truest and perfectest practice of all virtues? of wisdom, in disposing those things which are most subject to confusion and accident; of justice, in continual distributing rewards; of temperance, in exercising of the straitest discipline; of fortitude, in toleration of all labours and abstinence from effeminate delights; of constancy, in bearing and digesting the greatest variety of fortune. So that when all other places and professions require but their several virtues, a brave leader in the wars must be accomplished with all. It is the wars that are the tribunal seat, where the

highest rights and possessions are decided; the occupation of kings, the root of nobility, the protection of all estates; and lastly, lovers never thought their profession sufficiently graced, till they have compared it to a warfare. All that in any other profession can be wished for is but to live happily: but to be a brave commander in the field, death itself doth crown the head with glory. Therefore, Squire, let thy master go with me, and though he be resolved in the pursuit of his love, let him aspire to it by the noblest means. For ladies count it no honour to subdue them with their fairest eyes, which will be daunted with the fierce encounter of an enemy; and they will quickly discern a champion fit to wear their glove, from a page not worthy to carry their pantofle. Therefore I say again, let him seek his fortune in the field, where he may either lose his love, or find new arguments to advance it.

The Statesman's Speech.

Squire, my advice to thy master shall be as a token wrapped up in words; but then will it show itself fair, when it is unfolded in his actions. To wish him to change from one humour to another, were but as if for the cure of a man in pain one should advise him to lie upon the other side, but not enable him to stand on his feet. If from a sanguine delightful humour of love he turn to a melancholy retired humour of contemplation, or a turbulent boiling humour of the wars, what doth he but change tyrants? Contemplation is a dream, love a trance, and the humour of war is raving. These be shifts of humour, but no reclaiming to reason. I debar him not studies nor books, to give him store and variety of conceit, to refresh his mind, to cover sloth and indisposition, and to draw to him from those that are studious respect and commendation. But let him beware lest they possess not too much of his time, that they abstract not his judgment from present experience, nor make him presume upon knowing much to apply the less. For the wars, I deny him no enterprise that shall be worthy in greatness, likely in success, or necessary in duty; not mixed with any circumstance of jealousy, but duly laid upon him. But I would not have him take the alarm from his own humour, but from the occasion; and I would again he should know an employment from a discourting. And for his love, let it not so disarm his heart within, as it make him

too credulous to favours, nor too tender to unkindnesses, nor too apt to depend upon the heart he knows not. Nay in his demonstration of love let him not go too far; for these silly lovers, when they profess such infinite affection and obligation, they tax themselves at so high a rate that they are ever under arrest. It makes their service seem nothing, and every cavil or imputation very great. But what, Squire, is thy master's end? If to make the prince happy he serves, let the instructions to employed men, the relations of ambassadors, the treaties between princes, and actions of the present time, be the books he reads: let the orations of wise princes or experimented counsellors in council or parliament, and the final sentences of grave and learned judges in weighty and doubtful causes, be the lectures he frequents. Let the holding of affection with confederates without charge, the frustrating of the attempts of enemies without battles, the entitling of the Crown to new possessions without show of wrong, the filling of the prince's coffers without grudging, the appeasing tumults and seditions without violence, the keeping of men in appetite without impatience, be the inventions he seeks out. Let policy and matter of state be the chief, and almost the only thing he intends. But if he will believe Philautia, and seek most his own happiness, he must not of them embrace all kinds, but make choice, and avoid all matter of peril, displeasure, and charge, and turn them over to some novices that know not manacles from bracelets, nor burdens from robes. For himself, let him set for matters of commodity and strength, though they be joined with envy. Let him not trouble himself too laboriously to sound into any matter deeply, or to execute anything exactly; but let him make himself cunning rather in the humours and drifts of persons than in the nature of business and affairs. Of that it sufficeth to know only so much as may make him able to make use of other men's wits, and to make again a smooth and pleasing report. Let him entertain the proposition of others, and ever rather let him have an eye to the circumstances than to the matter itself; for then shall he ever seem to add somewhat of his own: and besides, when a man doth not forget so much as a circumstance, men do think his wit doth superabound for the substance. In his counsels let him not be confident, for that will rather make him obnoxious to the success; but let him follow the wisdom of oracles, which uttered that which might ever be

applied to the event. And ever rather let him take the side which is likeliest to be followed, than that which is soundest and best, that everything may seem to be carried by his direction. To conclude, let him be true to himself, and avoid all tedious reaches of state that are not merely pertinent to his particular. And if he will needs pursue his affection, and go on his course, what can so much advance him in his own way? The merit of war is too outwardly glorious to be inwardly grateful, and it is the exile of his eye, which looking with such affection upon the picture, cannot but with infinite contentment behold the life. But when his mistress shall perceive that his endeavours are [to] become a true supporter of her, a discharge of her care, a watchman of her person, a scholar of her wisdom, an instrument of her operation, and a conduit of her virtue, this with his diligences, accesses, humility, and patience, may move her to give him further degrees and approaches to her favour. So that I conclude I have traced him the way to that which hath been granted to some few, *amare et sapere*, to love and be wise.

The Reply of the Squire.

Wandering Hermit, storming Soldier, and hollow Statesman, the enchanting orators of Philautia, which have attempted by your high charms to turn resolved Erophilus into a statua deprived of action, or into a vulture attending about dead bodies, or into a monster with a double heart; with infinite assurance, but with just indignation and forced patience, I have suffered you to bring in play your whole forces. For I would not vouchsafe to combat you one by one, as if I trusted to the goodness of my breath and not the goodness of my strength, which little needeth the advantage of your severing, and much less of your disagreeing. Therefore, first, I would know of you all what assurance you have of the fruit whereto you aspire. You (Father) that pretend to truth and knowledge, how are you assured that you adore not vain chimeras and imaginations? that in your high prospect, when you think men wander up and down, that they stand not indeed still in their place, and it is some smoke or cloud between you and them which moveth, or else the dazzling of your own eyes? Have not many which take themselves to be inward counsellors with Nature, proved but idle believers, that told us tales which were no such matter? And, Soldier, what

security have you for these victories and garlands which you promise to yourself? Know you not of many which have made provision of laurel for the victory, and have been fain to exchange it with cypress for the funeral? of many which have bespoken fame to sound their triumphs, and have been glad to pray her to say nothing of them, and not to discover them in their flights? Corrupt Statesman, you that think by your engines and motions to govern the wheel of fortune; do you not mark that clocks cannot be long in temper, that jugglers are no longer in request when their tricks and sleights are once perceived? Nay do you not see that never any man made his own cunning and practice (without religion, honour, and moral honesty) his foundation, but he overbuilt himself, and in the end made his house a windfall? But give ear now to the comparison of my master's condition, and acknowledge such a difference as is betwixt the melting hail-stone and the solid pearl. Indeed it seemeth to depend as the globe of the earth seemeth to hang in the air; but yet it is firm and stable in itself. It is like a cube or die-form, which toss it or throw it any way, it ever lighteth upon a square. Is he denied the hopes of favours to come? He can resort to the remembrance of contentments past: destiny cannot repeal that which is past. Doth he find the acknowledgment of his affection small? He may find the merit of his affection the greater: fortune cannot have power over that which is within. Nay his falls are like the falls of Antæus; they renew his strength. His clouds are like the clouds of harvest, which make the sun break forth with greater force; his wanes and changes are like the moon, whose globe is all light towards the sun when it is all dark towards the world; such is the excellency of her nature and of his estate. Attend, you beadsman of the Muses, you take your pleasure in a wilderness of variety; but it is but of shadows. You are as a man rich in pictures, medals, and crystals. Your mind is of the water, which taketh all forms and impressions, but is weak of substance. Will you compare shadows with bodies, picture with life, variety of many beauties with the peerless excellency of one? the element of water with the element of fire? And such is the comparison between knowledge and love. Come out (man of war), you must be ever in noise. You will give laws, and advance force, and trouble nations, and remove landmarks of kingdoms, and hunt men, and pen tragedies in blood: and that which is

worst of all, make all the virtues accessary to bloodshed. Hath the practice of force so deprived you of the use of reason, as that you will compare the interruption of society with the perfection of society, the conquest of bodies with the conquest of spirits, the terrestrial fire which destroyeth and dissolveth with the celestial fire which quickeneth and giveth life? And such is the comparison between the soldier and the lover. And as for you, untrue Politique, but truest bondman to Philautia, you that presume to bind occasion and to overwork fortune, I would ask you but one question. Did ever any lady, hard to please, or disposed to exercise her lover, enjoin him so hard tasks and commandments, as Philautia exacteth of you? While your life is nothing but a continual acting upon a stage; and that your mind must serve your humour, and yet your outward person must serve your end; so as you carry in one person two several servitudes to contrary masters. But I will leave you to the scorn of that mistress whom you undertake to govern; that is, to fortune, to whom Philautia hath bound you. And yet, you commissioners of Philautia, I will proceed one degree further. If I allowed both of your assurance and of your values as you have set them, may not my master enjoy his own felicity, and have all yours for advantage? I do not mean that he should divide himself in both pursuits, as in your fainting tales towards the conclusion you did yield him; but because all these are in the hands of his mistress more fully to bestow than they can be attained by your addresses, knowledge, fame, and fortune. For the Muses, they are tributary to her Majesty for the great liberties they have enjoyed in her kingdom during her most flourishing reign; in thankfulness whereof they have adorned and accomplished her Majesty with the gifts of all the sisters. What library can present such a story of great actions as her Majesty carrieth in her royal breast by the often return of this happy day? What worthy author or favourite of the Muses is not familiar with her? Or what language wherein the Muses have used to speak is unknown to her? Therefore, the hearing of her, the observing of her, the receiving instructions from her, may be to Erophilus a lecture exceeding all dead monuments of the Muses. For Fame, can all the exploits of the war win him such a title, as to have the name of favoured and selected servant of such a Queen? For Fortune, can any insolent politique promise to himself such a fortune by

making his own way, as the excellency of her nature cannot deny to a careful, obsequious, and dutiful servant? And if he could, were it equal honour to obtain it by a shop of cunning as by the gift of such a hand?

Therefore Erophilus' resolution is fixed: he renounceth Philautia, and all her enchantments. For her recreation, he will confer with his muse: for her defence and honour, he will sacrifice his life in the wars, hoping to be embalmed in the sweet odours of her remembrance; to her service will he consecrate all his watchful endeavours; and will ever bear in his heart the picture of her beauty, in his actions of her will, and in his fortune of her grace and favour.

9.

Though there can be no reasonable doubt that the foregoing speeches were written by Bacon, it is I believe by mere accident that they pass for his. In Rowland Whyte's letter there is no allusion to Bacon at all: he speaks merely of "my Lord of Essex's device:" and we know from Sir Henry Wotton, that Essex had the reputation of a great artist in such matters. "For the Earl's writings," says he, "they are beyond example; especially in his familiar letters, and things of delight at Court, when he would remit his serious habits; as may be yet seen in his Impresses and Inventions of Entertainment, and *above all in his darling piece of love and self-love*. His style was an elegant perspicuity, rich of phrase, but seldom any bold metaphors; and so far from tumour, that it rather wanted a little elevation."[1] The paper containing the four speeches has nothing on the face of it to connect it with Bacon; and had it been found by itself, or in other company, by any one not familiar with Bacon's style or not in pursuit of Baconiana,—especially if he had seen the passages above quoted from the 'Sydney Papers' and the 'Reliquiæ Wottonianæ,'—it would naturally have been set down as the Earl's own composition. "The darling piece of love and self-love" might even be taken for a description of it; only that the controversy between love and self-love appears to have been, in different forms, the argument of more than one of these devices; and a rival claimant for the title is still extant, which has of late been connected with the personal history of Bacon, in a manner which, however illegitimate in itself, brings it legitimately within the scope of this work.

In November, 1595, Sir Walter Ralegh, who had returned not long

[1] Reliq. Wotton. p. 22.

before from his voyage to Guiana, was preparing to send out another expedition thither. Mr. Dixon, in his 'Personal History of Lord Bacon, from Unpublished Papers,' informs us (p. 62) that Bacon, seeing Essex and Ralegh to be each needful to the other and to the common cause, laboured with tongue and pen to make peace between them; sought to push the new expedition; in spite of Ralegh's pride, which often marred his work, repeated to Essex that Ralegh would be his staunchest and safest friend: and (being engaged at the time in composing characters and words for a masque with which Essex was preparing to entertain the Queen) took occasion, by introducing "a scene in happy allusion to the Amazon and to Ralegh's voyage," to pay him "a striking and conspicuous compliment." He adds that Essex, not having the grace to let it stand, "struck his pen through Bacon's lines," which thereupon "dropped from the acted scene and from the printed masque:" but that "a contemporary copy of the suppressed part remains in the State Paper Office—a proof how much, five years before the Earl rushed into treason, Bacon leaned to the side of her Majesty's Captain of the Guard."

All this being entirely new, the unpublished papers which contain evidence of it would be of no ordinary interest; and it is somewhat tantalizing to be referred merely to "Notes of the supplemental part of the entertainment given at York House, November 17, 1595, S.P.O;" and again to "Entertainment given to the Queen at York House, November 17, 1595,"—without any further explanation. For the benefit as well of the trustful reader who takes all references for granted, as of the curious reader who desires to know more about them, I proceed to supply the omission.

The "Entertainment" referred to is merely some copy of the four speeches which we have just read, probably Nichols's (Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, iii. 371), whose note may have suggested the erroneous and otherwise unaccountable statement that it was given at York House. The other reference is *meant* to describe a manuscript in the State Paper Office, which is described in the original docket only as "A Device made by the Earl of Essex for the Entertainment of her Majesty;" and is a fair and full transcript, in a hand belonging to the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century, of a device which has no apparent connexion with the other; nor any heading or note or mark of any kind, to indicate time, place, occasion, authorship, or any other thing connected with its history or composition.

So far therefore, there is nothing whatever to countenance any part of the story: nothing to connect it with Bacon's device, or with York House, or with the year 1595; nothing to suggest either that

it was written by Bacon, or that it was suppressed by Essex, or that it was not exhibited on the occasion for which it was composed, whatever that occasion may have been.

For the compliment to Ralegh, pregnant with so much unsuspected personal history now for the first time revealed, we must look of course in the device itself, which has been printed before (Lives of the Earls of Essex, ii. 501), but of which the following is a more correct copy.

The Squire's Speech.

I have brought before your Majesty two wanderers, the one (as it should seem) some Indian youth, the other white of complexion and expert in languages: to me they will neither give account whence they come nor whither they would; but of me at the first acquaintance they have curiously inquired of the state of our country, of the manner of our government, of the disposition of the people, and specially of many circumstances of your Majesty's person; which discovery of their high conceit, aiming directly at yourself, hath made me bring them into your Highness's presence, that they [may] make their purgation to yourself.

The Attendant or Conductor to the Indian Prince.

Excellent Queen, In the most retired part of that division which those of Europe call the West Indias, near unto the fountain of the great river of the Amazons, there governeth at this day a mighty monarch, whose rare happiness in all things else is only eclipsed in the calamity of his son, this young Prince, who was born blind. This only tax and imposition hath fortune set upon the father's felicity, and nature laid upon the son's perfections; for this want removed, never was there in that royal line a spark of that expectation, so lovely of presence, so active of body, and full of spirit. But yet no one thing hath so much affected both his father and his people towards him, as an ancient prophecy that it should be he that should expel the Castilians, a nation of strangers, which as a scourge hath wound itself about the body of that continent, though it hath not pierced near the heart thereof. This fatal glory, added to his other excellency, hath made the king his father to visit his temples with continual sacrifices, gifts, and observances, to solicit his son's cure supernaturally. And at last, this present year, out of one of the holiest vaults was delivered to him an oracle in these words:—

Seated between the Old World and the New,
A land there is no other land may touch,
Where reigns a Queen in peace and honour true;
Stories or fables do describe no such.
Never did Atlas such a burden bear,
As she, in holding up the world oppress;
Supplying with her virtue everywhere
Weakness of friends, errors of servants best.

No nation breeds a warmer blood for war,
And yet she calms them by her majesty:
No age hath ever wits refined so far,
And yet she calms them by her policy:
To her thy son must make his sacrifice
If he will have the morning of his eyes.

This oracle hath been both our direction hitherto, and the cause of our wearisome pilgrimage; we do now humbly beseech your Majesty that we make experience whether we be at the end of our journey or not. . . .

Your Majesty's sacred presence hath wrought the strangest innovation that ever was in the world. You have here before you Seeing Love, a Prince indeed, but of greater territories than all the Indies: armed after the Indian manner with bow and arrows, and when he is in his ordinary habit an Indian naked, or attired with feathers, though now for comeliness clad. To procure his pardon for the stratagem which he hath used, and to show his thankfulness for his sight which he hath by you received, he presents your Majesty with all that is his; his gift and property to be ever young: his wings of liberty to fly from one to another; his bow and arrows to wound where it pleaseth you; and withal humbly desireth that, though Philautia hath hitherto so prevailed with your Majesty, as you would never accept of him while he was an unperfect piece, yet now he is accomplished by your Majesty's grace and means, that you will vouchsafe him entertainment. For all the challenge that ever hath been made to Love or his band, hath been, if it be rightly interpreted, only to his want of eyesight. Lovers are charged to aspire too high: it is as the poor dove, which when her eyes are sealed still mounteth up into the air. They are charged with descending too low: it is as the poor mole, which seeing not the clearness of the air, diveth into the darkness of the earth. They are sometimes charged with presuming too far: it is as the blind man, who looketh in humanity that any seeing man should give him way. They are accused sometimes to be timorous; it is as the blind stalks and lifts high where the way is smooth. They are taxed to be credulous; why the blind are ever led. They are said at other times to be incredulous: the blind must feel that which it sufficeth another to see. How can they know times justly, that go by the clock and not by the sun? And how can they know measure, that see as well a mote as a beam? This makes poor lovers used as blind horses, ever going round about in a wheel: and this makes them ever unfortunate, for when blind love leads blind fortune, how can they keep out of the ditch? But now that Love hath gotten possession of his sight, there can be no error in policy or dignity to receive him. Nay Philautia herself will subscribe to his admission. Then your Majesty shall first see your own invaluable value, and thereby discern that the favours you vouchsafe are pure gifts and no exchanges. And if any be so happy as to have his affection accepted, yet your prerogative is such as they stand bound and your Majesty is free. Then shall your Majesty read the conditions of every pretender, who it is that cometh manned out by the plots and policies of others, and who cometh led only by his own star;

who is sent in unto you by the frowns of fortune, to have some commendation from you to her again, and who both left a favourable fortune when he came to you, and resolves never to establish a fortune, because he will wholly depend upon you; who seeks your favour to the end to tread upon others, and who denies[1] all others' favours to be trodden on by you; who offereth gold, incense, and myrrh, and who but the meanest of the flock[2] or a cruise of oil. Your Majesty shall obtain the curious window into hearts of which the ancients speak; thereby you shall discern protestation from fullness of heart, ceremonies and fashions from a habit of mind that can do no other, affection [qy. affectation?] from affection. Your Majesty shall see the true proportion of your own favours, so as you may deliver them forth by measure, that they neither cause surfeit nor faintness, and take as just a tribute of your commandments as you vouchsafe an imparting of your favours, and so keep them as well in breath and exercise as in strength and in heart. And to conclude, your Majesty may be invested of that which the poet saith was never granted, *Amare et sapere.* And you, honest Squire, that have conducted us, carry your Master this message from Seeing Love, as the first-fruit of his sight, Let him consider whom he serves, and first of all seek[3] to dignify himself in worth and merit; for it is not a small piece of wood, though never so well kindled, that will make a great fire. Let him add to his merit diligence and application; for it is not a dead fire, though never so great, but a fire continually blown, that will melt hard metal. Let him not build too much upon remembrance of griefs or contentments past; it is the fault of a blind man to have too good a memory. Let him choose expertly his seasons and opportunities; it is a blind man's case not to know night from day. Let him dissemble unkindness and discouragements; for it is no blind man's part willingly not to see. And to conclude, since in his blindness he hath chanced so well as to fix his affections in the most excellent place, let him now by his sight find out the most ready way. And so, Squire, for guiding us our right way, we have taught your master part of his.

This is all. And so entirely do the references fail to bear out the story told in the paragraphs to which they are attached, that a slip of the pen or an error of the press might naturally be suspected; for it is difficult to imagine not only how these papers could be cited in justification of the story, but how they could have helped anybody to invent it. The fact however—that is, the *telling* of the tale, for the tale itself is mere fiction,—may be thus explained. The modern arranger of the documents in the State Paper Office, being obliged to place the undated "device" somewhere, fixed upon the 17th of November, 1595—not injudiciously: for though the fact that *another* device is known to have been exhibited on that day makes it improbable that this is the place to which it chronologically belongs, yet it is the place where anybody seeking for such things is most

[1] *enjoyes* in MS. [2] *ffocks* in MS. [3] *to seek* in MS.

likely to look, and therefore to find it—and wrote on the back with a pencil the following memorandum:—"Prob. 17 Nov. 1595, when the E. of Essex entertained the Q. This portion is not given in the Progresses. Vid. vol. iii. p. 371." A hasty and not quite accurate memorandum; but bearing upon the face of it evidence of being merely a modern and doubtful conjecture; and exchanged in the calendar for the following correct description:—"A short play or interlude devised by the Earl of Essex for the entertainment of the Queen. The subject is the visit of a native Indian Prince from the sources of the Amazon river, who miraculously recovers his sight."

This gives us the true connexion between the references in the notes and the statements in the text. An interlude, referred by the calendarer of the State Papers to the 17th of November, 1595, is *not* to be found in Nichols's account of the entertainment given on that day. The entertainment of which we have an account was drawn up by Bacon for the Earl of Essex. The subject of the missing interlude was the visit of an Indian Prince from the sources of the Amazon. These are the facts. Then follows the speculation. *Why* does not this interlude appear in Nichols's account? Out of this question the rest of the narrative grew by a process of evolution or development, according to a method of historical composition which I am afraid is becoming more and more fashionable.

I have thought it worth while to be thus particular in my account of the matter for two reasons. The first is, that it is an example which will do instead of many, and relieve both my readers and myself from the labour of similar investigations hereafter. The second is, that I have a question to raise in the next chapter concerning certain other writings which pass under the Earl of Essex's name,—a question which must be determined chiefly by considerations of style;—and this last composition being one of the most important pieces of evidence upon the point at issue, though bearing *against* the conclusion to which I lean, it is fit that the reader should have the means of weighing it for himself. If it be quite certain that it was the Earl's own composition, his style in things of this kind must have been so like Bacon's that I for my part should despair of distinguishing their several work by examination of the workmanship.

10.

At this point we may make another pause. For these triumphs may be regarded as the conclusion of the long controversy—the celebration of the reinstatement of Essex in the Queen's full favour, and the expression of Bacon's unshaken devotion to her service, disappoint-

ments and discouragements notwithstanding, and of his earnest desire to keep those two spirits in tune with each other. For himself, he is free at last from the servitude of suitorship, though not released from court service, and otherwise much as he was; except that the piece of land which Essex has given him (very soon, I fancy, to be mortgaged for the best part of its value) will enable him to raise money enough to satisfy for awhile those creditors, whose increasing and I will not say unreasonable importunity was not the least among the anxieties which beset him.

END OF VOL. I.

PRINTED BY JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR,
LITTLE QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

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